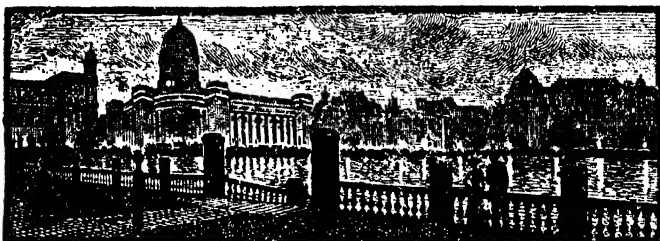
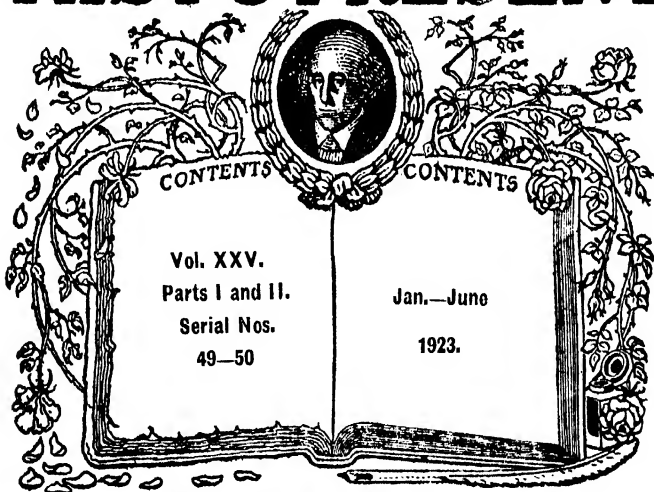




BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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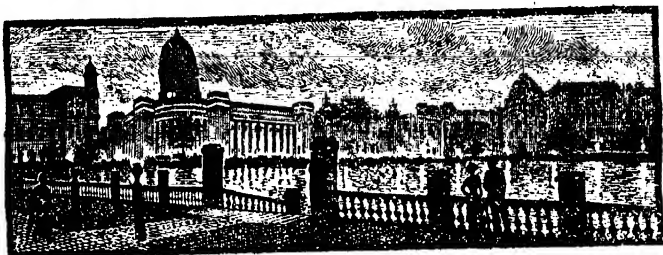
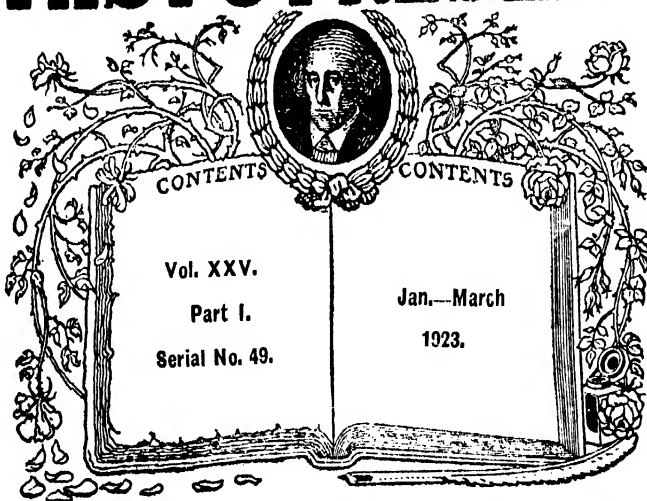
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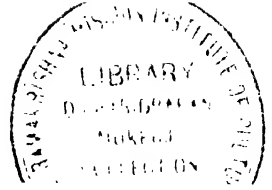
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THOMAS DANIELL, R.A.
By His Nephew, WILLIAM DANIELL, R.A.
(From The Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection).

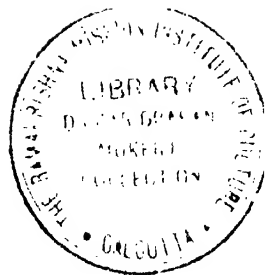


CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The attention of Members is drawn to the fact that Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., has been appointed by the Executive Committee to the Office of Hon. Secretary.

July, 1923.

(Sd.) H. E. A. COTTON,
Chairman, Executive Committee.



The Daniells in India.

AN UNPUBLISHED ACCOUNT OF
THEIR JOURNEY FROM CALCUTTA TO GARHWAL:
IN 1788-1789.

ON page 219 of the second volume of Seton Karr's "Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*" the following entry will be found:—

"July 9, 1789.—Extract from a letter from Futtý Ghur, June 8, 1789.

The two Mr. Daniels, (landscape painters) are returned from their excursion.

The drawings they have taken of the hills and snowy mountains above Hurdwar are well worth publishing. Several gentlemen from Anopsheer went with them and by all their accounts they have been 60 coss up the course of the Ganges from Hurdwar and where Europeans have never been before. The country people stared at them as if they were supernatural beings, and insisted on looking particularly at their clothes and touching them. They found some parts of the Ganges 40 feet deep and the stream astonishingly rapid particularly near the place called Serinaghur where it is impossible to stem the current. The people cross the river by a curious bridge of ropes. Their passage over the hills was not only tremendous but dangerous from narrow rugged and almost perpendicular paths over immense mountains, continued in many places by the trunks of trees laid from one large rock to another. The prospect of distant villages on the tops of hills and the different ranges of snowy mountains formed the most pleasing view. They met with pine, oak, and cherry trees, raspberry, etc., with many other trees and plants, natives of Europe. The weather was so cold that in the month of May they could not with the assistance of great coats keep themselves comfortably warm."

The "two Mr. Daniels (landscape painters)," mentioned in this extract, are of course, Thomas Daniell (1749-1840) and his nephew William (1769-1837), who spent ten fruitful years in India between 1783 and 1793: and the tour described was undertaken in the country which goes nowadays by the name of Garhwal. An account of the journey written by the younger Daniell, who was then a young man of twenty, has lately come to light among the papers of Joseph Farington, a fellow member with them of the Royal Academy, and an intimate friend of both uncle and nephew. Details have already been given in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 1—8) of the family connexions of Farington with India, and also of the manner in which his Diary was discovered and passed into the possession of the *Morning Post*. That great London newspaper commenced the publication of entries from this remarkable record

of contemporary gossip on January 23, 1922; and on January 25 the following caught the eye of the present writer :—

" November 3, 1793.—We put up at Mrs. Daniell's at the Swan [Chertsey] where we were before. This evening Mrs. Daniell brought me a copy of a letter from her son in India whose tour in that country with his Uncle has been more extensive than that of any European artist's at least."

To this a note was appended: "Then follows a long and interesting description of his travels."

On communicating with the Editor of the *Morning Post*, permission was at once most courteously given to transcribe the letter, and it is reproduced on a later page. The copy was made by Farington in pencil and covers fourteen pages of a leather-bound volume.

It may perhaps be of advantage to repeat here that the fruits of this expedition into Garhwal are preserved in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery" which was published in London in 1807. In this connection it may be mentioned that the India Office possesses six water-colour drawings of scenes in "the Sirinagar Mountains" (Srinagar being the name of the capital of the Garhwali Raja whose territory was visited). In the earlier article on the Farington Diary, to which allusion has been made, a suggestion was offered that the authorship of these drawings might be attributed to one or the other of the Daniells, although these particular sketches are not to be found in "Oriental Scenery." But further investigation has tempted another theory which is elaborated on a later page. Apart from these a water-colour by Thomas Daniell, representing the Rope-bridge at Sirinagar (24 inches by 17 inches) was purchased in 1915 for the India Office and was transferred last year (1922) to the office of the High Commissioner for India. There is also an "unidentified" painting in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection which may very well be the "View on Sirinagar Mountains" exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1797.

In Room 107 at the India Office are also two water-colours which represent "The Chalis Satun, Allahabad" and a landscape scene "near the Source of the Ganges." Neither are signed, but both are in the style of the Daniells; and the first is undoubtedly the same as the sixth sketch in the first series of "Oriental Scenery."

The Victoria Memorial Hall collection is happy in the possession of a fine portrait of Thomas Daniell in his old age (1). This picture, which is the work of his nephew William and is said to have been painted at Windsor, was purchased by Lord Curzon for the collection in February, 1916, for £31-10-0. By the courtesy of the Trustees, we are enabled to present a reproduction based upon an excellent photograph taken by Mr. F. Harrington, the Curator, to whom our thanks are likewise due. A portrait of both Thomas and William

(1) Thomas Daniell died unmarried in 1840 at the age of ninety-one at his house in Earls Terrace, Kensington. No pictures were exhibited by him at the Royal Academy after 1828.

Daniell was also painted by Robert Home and presented by him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

There are other portraits of the Daniells in existence. One of Thomas Daniell was painted by Sir David Wilkie and forms part of the National Gallery Collection. The Royal Academy possesses miniature portraits of both uncle and nephew by Sir William Newton (1785-1869), and (in addition) a drawing of William Daniell and his wife by Mrs. Daniell's brother Richard Westall (1765-1835; A.R.A. 1792, R.A. 1794). Thomas Daniell's portrait is also among fifty-three portraits of Academicians executed by George Dance, R.A., in pencil washed with colour. Both this and the companion sketch of Zoffany by the same artist, were exhibited at the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1907. As to these Mr. John Evan Hodgson, R.A., and Sir Frederick Eaton in their book on "The Royal Academy and its Members," (1905) say at p. 88:—

Amongst the treasures of the Royal Academy is a beautiful series of profile portraits by George Dance. They were engraved by William Daniell, R.A., but no reproduction can convey any idea of the excellence of the originals (2).

The story of the journey, which William Daniell gives in the letter to his mother, may profitably be compared with the descriptive matter attached to the twelve views of the Garhwal country which are to be seen in the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*. One notable omission occurs. William Daniell has nothing to tell his mother about the Rope bridge at Sirinagur which forms the subject of the twenty-third sketch. Otherwise the two accounts are remarkably similar. Of the remaining twelve views in this series five represent scenes in Bengal and seven deal with subjects in Madras.

The sketches in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* which was published in London on March 1, 1795, are directly referable also to the period of the expedition into Garhwal. They consist of 24 views "drawn and engraved by Thomas Daniell" and "taken in the years 1789-1790." Similarly, the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* published in 1799 under the title of "Antiquities of India" (and sometimes referred to under the latter name alone) contains twenty-four views which are stated to have been taken in the years 1790 and 1793. It will be seen later that in both these series are sketches of many of the places which occur in William Daniell's letter to his mother.

Mention may also be made in this connexion of the four Bengal views, including two of Calcutta, which are given in "A Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China by Thomas Daniell, R.A., and William Daniell, A.R.A., London, 1810." These are:—1. Near Cucrahittee on the Hoogly river.

(2) George Dance the younger (1741-1825) succeeded his father (1700-1753) as architect to the City of London, and designed old Newgate prison (1770-1783), St. Luke's Hospital in Old-Street, and the entrance facade of the Guildhall. From 1798 to 1805 he was Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy: and it was not until his later years (1808) that he took to portraiture. At the time of his death in 1825 he was the sole survivor of the foundation members (1768) of the Royal Academy, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

2. Near Gangwaughcolly (Geonkhali) on the river Hoogly. 3. View of Calcutta from the Garden Reach; and 4. Old Fort Ghaut, Calcutta (3).

Thomas Daniell is represented at the National Gallery by "A view of the Nullah, near Rajmehal, Bengal"—a picture which does not appear to have been exhibited at the Royal Academy :

Examples of the elder Daniell's work may likewise be found in "Twenty-Four Views of Hindoostan: drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures by Mr. [Thomas] Daniell and Colonel [Francis Swain] Ward," and published in London by Edward Orme in January, 1805. Ten of these views are by Thomas Daniell, namely :—9. A View of Ossoore [Hosur: on the Bangalore plateau]. 10. Thebet Mountains. 11. West Gate of Firoz Shah's cotillah, Delhi. 13. A Pagoda. 14. A Hindu Place of Worship. 15. Dalmow, on the Ganges. 18. The Bridge at Juonpore, Bengal. 19. Distant view of Motee Thurna [sic], a waterfall in the Rajemahl Hills, Bengal. 21. Tomb of a Moorish Lady, Bengal, and 23. Felicity Hall: late the Residence of the Hon'ble David Anstruther, near Moorshedabad, Bengal.

No. 16 (Fortress of Gwallior, taken by General Popham) and No. 24 (Kuttull [sic] Minor, Delhi) bear no artist's name, but the latter is probably the work of Daniell, who certainly made it the subject of a sketch (also numbered 24) in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery*. The former may be the work of Ward, for we have no record of any visit to Gwalior by the Daniells. William Hodges, however, exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1786, a "View of the north-west side of the Fort of Gwalior in the East Indies taken by Lieut.-Col. Popham, August 4, 1780." The picture was purchased by Warren Hastings, and an engraving of it will be found opposite page 142 of Hodges' "Travels in India during the years 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783" (published in London in 1793). Hodges visited the place in May, 1783, and gives an account of the capture of the Fort which he takes from a letter written by Captain Jonathan Scott, the Persian interpreter with Popham's force, to his brother Major John Scott Waring. The twelve remaining views are inscribed with the name of Colonel Ward, who died at Negapatam in 1794. These include the well known view of the Old Court House at Calcutta (drawn in 1784), a sketch of the Fort at Muttra, and two sketches of Anopsheer but are otherwise entirely concerned with Fort Saint George and Southern India.

THE MYSTERY OF THE *ORIENTAL ANNUAL*.

It so happens that there is yet another account of this journey into Garhwal; and it is to be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (pp. 1 to 39). This is a publication which appeared annually from 1834 to 1840. The illustrations to the first five volumes, from 1834 to 1838 are engraved by various hands from drawings and pictures by William Daniell. He died in 1837, and the remaining volumes, for 1839 and 1840, contain engravings by Thomas Bacon, F.S.A., from drawings by other artists.

(3) Reproduction of the two latter sketches are given in the late Mr. Wilmot Corfield's "Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days," published by the Calcutta Historical Society.

The letter-press to the volumes is contributed by the Rev. John Hobart Caunter, B.D., a prolific writer of the period, who tells an extremely circumstantial story of the manner in which he came across the Daniells in India, and accompanied them in their travels, including (as he avers) the expedition into Garhwal. He arrived, he says (*Oriental Annual*, 1835, p. 1) in Madras at the end of September (the year is not specified) and he continues (pp. 14, 21):—

During the monsoon I had the good fortune to obtain an introduction to Mr. W. Daniell and his uncle, who had both been already some time in India, and with whom I agreed to travel, as soon as the weather should permit. Shortly after the 15th December . . . my two friends and I began to prepare for a journey down the Coromandel Coast. I purchased a young Arab horse . . . providing myself at the same time with a commodious palankeen. . . My fellow-travellers determined to make use only of their palankeens, so that we were each suited precisely to our respective tastes and ready to start towards the beginning of a year which we had made up our minds to devote exclusively to the enjoyments of travelling. . . On the 5th January, about twelve weeks after our arrival, we commenced our journey.

The succeeding pages show that the route taken was by way of Covelong, Mahabalipuram (the Seven Pagodas), Chingleput, Outramalore, Wandiwash, Gingee, and Trinomalee, to Tanjore, which was reached in the evening of the fifteenth day after leaving Madras. Trichinopoly, Salem and the temples at Tritchencore (4) were next visited: and then Ramiseraam, after a return to Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The journey thereafter lay down the coast to Panamgoody "immediately upon Cape Comorin," and then to Palamcottah, Tinnevely (where the falls of Puppenassum were visited), Dindigul, and back to Ramiseraam where a crossing was made to Ceylon. We are next invited to believe that the party took passage in a "country ship" to Calcutta and proceeded thence up the Hooghly. It was "nearly a month" before they entered the Ganges at Sooty, visiting Rajmahal on the way. The itinerary now includes the Colgong hills, the "falls of Mootee-jerna," Patna, Dinapoor, Buxar (with a détour to Sassaram), Ghazipoor, Benares (where they took up their abode near the Shewallah Ghaut, the former residence of Cheit Singh, at the northern extremity of the city), Chunar, Cawnpoor, Kanouge, Futtypoor, Agra, (near which it is recorded that Dowlut Rao Scindia, the grandnephew and adopted son of Mahadaji Scindia, passed with 30,000 troops and 2,000 elephants), Delhi, Anopshur ("a military station of some importance on the Ganges") and finally through Rohilcund to Hurdwar, "whence we resolved, after staying as long as might be agreeable or convenient, to return to Calcutta."

But, "before we quitted Hurdwar, we made a short excursion to the lower regions of the Himalaya Mountains," or in other words, to Garhwal: and "a particular account of this part of our excursion" is contained in the opening

(4) Thomas Daniell exhibited a "View near Salem" at the Royal Academy of 1797: and "Gate leading to Hindoo Temple at Tritchencore" at the Academy of 1795.

pages of the *Oriental Annual* for 1835. It serves as an interesting commentary upon the description offered in the letter which Farington copied. But it must be said at once that the facts connected with the career of the Rev. J. Hobart Caunter, B.D., which are obtainable from works of reference, do not in any way lend colour to his claim to have been the travelling-companion of the Daniells.

The Daniells are known to have been in India from 1783 to 1793: and they were certainly in Calcutta from 1786 to 1788: for it was during those years that Thomas Daniell engraved and published his famous *Twelve Views of Calcutta* which are believed to be the earliest "street views" of that city (5). They must therefore have gone up-country from the Presidency and could not have paid a prior visit to Southern India, for it is stated distinctly in the letter-press to the second series of the *Oriental Scenery* that in June 1792 they had proceeded south to Trichinopoly, were in Madura in July and at Tanjore in September of that year, and returned to Madras in 1793. We may also note (apart from the evidence contributed by the Farington letter) that the assertion is directly made in the letter-press to drawing No. 14 of the fourth series which contains the Garhwal sketches that "this view was taken in April, 1789, immediately previous to the author's passing through the mountains."

Now, Caunter was born at Dittisham in South Devon on June 21, 1792 and proceeded to India as a cadet about 1811. He tells us in the *Oriental Annual* (1834, p. 1) that "India was the country which I fixed upon as the scene of my projected wanderings as soon as I became of age," and, if this is a correct statement, the date of his arrival in India must be delayed by another two years. Some sort of clue is afforded by Caunter's further story (*Oriental Annual*, *ibid*) that he took his passage for Madras in the *Atlas* Indiaman and "after an agreeable voyage of little more than four months, on the 26th of September, came in sight of the Asiatic shore." Now, the *Atlas* (1,200 tons, Captain Charles Otway Mayne) sailed from Portsmouth on January 26, 1813, on her maiden voyage to Madras and China, and returned to her moorings on August 9, 1814. But if the voyage lasted "little more than four months" Madras should have been reached in May or June, instead of in September. Such are the difficulties in which the reverend gentleman lands the enquirer who endeavours to test his statements. No other voyage will apply: for the old *Atlas* (763 tons, Captain Allen Cooper) made her fourth and last voyage to Bengal and back in 1787-1788: and the second voyage of the new *Atlas*, which was to Madras, Penang and China, commenced on February 28, 1815 and ended on May 15, 1816.

(5) A list of these views was given in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 182. They measure (engraved surface) about $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches and were printed without margins or titles. But at one of the lower corners of each plate, the inscription "T. Daniell Fecit, Calcutta" with the year and number of the series will be found. These views are probably among Thomas Daniell's earliest efforts in aquatint engraving. [See article by the late Mr. George Lyell in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III. 1909 p. 308.]

It is possible that Caunter may be referring in reality not to himself, but to William Daniell: for the old *Atlas* did sail from Portsmouth for "the Coast and Bay" on March 11, 1783: and this date would not conflict with that of the arrival in India of Thomas Daniell and his young nephew (6). In any case, we read in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Caunter "was soon disgusted with Oriental life" and having "discovered much to his disappointment nothing on the continent of Asia to interest him" he returned home. Proceeding to Cambridge he took the degree of B.D. and entered the Church.

By the courtesy of Mr. H. Mitchell of the Record Department of the India Office the following particulars have been obtained of Caunter's very brief career in India. His cadetship, which was on the Bombay establishment, was for the season 1810, but he was not actually appointed until April 24, 1811. The date of his arrival in India has not been traced, but it was probably in the latter part of 1811, as his commission as ensign is dated October 25, 1811. He resigned the service on January 21, 1814, and there is no evidence that he ever went near Madras or Bengal. In the application for appointment to a cadetship he stated that his father George Caunter was Police Magistrate at Prince of Wales Island (the modern Penang).

It will be seen that the reverend gentleman's reputation for veracity will not survive any sort of investigation into recorded facts. Nevertheless, he is persistent in his allegations that the Daniells were his travelling companions. In the *Annual* for 1834 he writes (pp. 34, 35):—

We spent several days at Mahabalipuram, examining all the extraordinary monuments of art in its neighbourhood which abounds with objects of natural as well as of artificial interest. Mr. William Daniell took the opportunity during our stay of making some very accurate and finished drawings: and here he found subjects in every respect worthy of his pencil. Some of the magnificent fruits of his and his uncle's labours have been already offered to the world in their *Oriental Scenery*. Of this noble production it is not too much to say that it stands at this moment unrivalled for accuracy of delineation among the productions of modern art, and yet it remains almost unnoticed.

An engraving of a drawing by William Daniell of "A Temple at Mahabalipoor" is inserted opposite page 32 of this volume (1834). Among the twenty-four views "by Thomas Daniell, R.A. and F.S.A." in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* (which are expressly stated to have been "taken in the years 1790 and 1793"), the following relate to the Seven Pagodas: No. 1, sculptured rocks at Mauveleporam: No. 2, the entrance of an excavated Hindoo Temple at Mauveleporam: No. 21, a pavilion belonging to a Hindoo Temple (near Mauveleporam).

(6) The *Atlas* left Calcutta on her return voyage in January, 1784, and arrived in the Downs on July 28, 1784. She took home Mrs. Hastings and Augustus Cleveland. The latter died on board before the ship reached the Sandheads and his body was taken back to Calcutta for burial. His tomb is in the South Park Street Cemetery.

In the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (p. 105) free rein is similarly given to the imagination, in describing the halt at the Chauter Serai, built by Asaf Khan, brother to the Sultana Noor Jehan, on the road from Delhi :—

“The morning after our halt at this interesting spot Mr. Daniell and myself rose early in order to indulge ourselves with a sight of the beautiful prospect around us.”

And the reader is duly presented with a drawing by William Daniell of the Agra Gate of the Serai (7).

Again, at page 4 of the same volume (1835), we find an account of the manner in which the sketch was drawn of the rhinoceros of which an engraving by J. Redaway is inserted opposite that page. The scene is laid in the forests which cover the base of the foothills on the way up to Serinagur by the Coaduwar gaut :—

“We had turned the angle of a hill that abutted upon a narrow stream when on the opposite side of the rivulet we saw a fine male rhinoceros. . . . It stood apparently with great composure about two hundred yards above us, in an open vista of the wood. Mr. Daniell, under the protection of a lofty intervening bank, was able to approach sufficiently near to make a perfect sketch of it.”

Thomas Daniell, who is hardly mentioned by Caunter, exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1799, a picture entitled “A Forest Scene in the northern part of Hindoostan with Rhinoceros.” But the original of the engraving in the *Oriental Annual* is no doubt, the picture of the “Indian Rhinoceros” exhibited by William Daniell at the British Institution in 1832.

Divested of romance, this much can be affirmed, that the Rev. Mr. Caunter’s account of his alleged wanderings, which is written in graphic style, is based in the primary degree upon notes and other information furnished by William Daniell himself. Many incidents are repeated, and the description of the journey into Garhwal closely resembles the narrative given in the letter-press to *Oriental Scenery*.

The letter transcribed by Farington leaves the Daniells at Baghulpoor on July 30, 1790 : and we know from the *Calcutta Gazette* that they were at Futty Ghur on June 8, 1789. Whether their return to Calcutta took the form which it assumes in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty : but such incidents as the exciting encounter with the wild sow in the jungles of Gour, and the loss of the baggage-boat off Rajmahal “with everything we possessed in the world, except our papers and drawings,” can

(7) Chauter Serai has undergone both phonetic reform and curtailment (writes Mr. F. C. Scallan, who has succeeded in identifying the place). It is now known as Chhata, and is a town on the direct route from Muttra to Delhi, about 60 miles from the latter city. The *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. X. p. 197) gives the following in its note on Chhata :

“Town, Muttra district : The principal feature of the town is its large fort-like *sarai*, covering twelve acres, with battlemented walls and bastions and two lofty gateways... dating from the time of Sher Shah or Akbar.”

The mention of the *sarai* sufficiently connects the Chhata of today with the “Chauter Serai” of the *Oriental Annual*. There is a railway station here, on the G.I.P. extension to Delhi.

hardly have been invented. Mention is also made of an excursion from Benares to Gaya by way of Rohtasgarh, through a region which is amply illustrated both in Royal Academy pictures and in *Oriental Scenery*.

THE DANIELLS' TRAVELLING COMPANIONS.

If, as appears to be established beyond dispute, the writer in the *Oriental Annual* did not accompany the Daniells on the expedition to Serinagar, we learn definitely from the letter transcribed by Farington that they did not go alone. The party which actually made the journey into Garhwal consisted, we are told, of two gentlemen only in addition to Thomas and William Daniell. The identity of one of the two companions is revealed at p. 435 of the eleventh volume of *Asiatick Researches* (Hindoostanee Press, Calcutta, 1810) in the course of an essay by H. T. Colebrooke on the sources of the Ganges. It is there stated :—

At the period of the publication of a second edition of his memoirs, in 1792, Major Rennell was possessed of correcter information, concerning the position of Srinagar (visited in 1789 by Capt. Guthrie and Mr. Daniell): which enabled him to correct the gross error committed by Tieffenthaler who placed Srinagar N.-N.-W. instead of E.-N.-E. from Haridwar.

John Guthrie was gazetted to a cadetship on the Bengal Establishment in 1771 and received his first commission on March 15, 1773. He became Lieutenant on May 15, 1778, Captain on January 11, 1784, Major on October 30, 1797, and Lieutenant-Colonel on April 21, 1800, and was killed in Bundelcund on October 18, 1803.

Who was the other companion? The temptation is great to identify him with Samuel Davis. We know from an entry in the Farington Diary of February 12, 1807, that he was a close friend of the Daniells, who "resided twelve months in India in the same House with Him." (8) He went to Bengal as a cadet in the

(8) The entry in the Diary is as follows (*Morning Post*, December 13, 1922.)

February 12th, 1807—Wm. Daniell's I dined at. Mr. Davis went to India in 1780 in the Fleet in which Hodges sailed. He sailed from England in January, 1780 and did not arrive in Bengal till February following. He continued in India 25 years and did not arrive in England till July last....He is much attached to Art and has practised drawing as his most favourite amusement. He was Accountant-General of Bengal some years. He married Miss Boileau, niece to Mrs. (Lestock) Wilson and has seven children. The two Daniells resided twelve months in India in the same House with Him.

A later entry gives further particulars—

August 28, 1807—(Thomas) Daniell told us that Mr. Davis, of Harley Street, was known to Him near 40 years ago at Maxwell's the coach-painter, in Queen Street (where Daniell was an apprentice). Davis went to India as a cadet and changing to a Civil situation, at last became Accountant-General at Calcutta under Marquiss of Wellesley.

Samuel Davis, being then a Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble English East India Company's service, married at Burdwan on September 24, 1794, Henrietta Boileau, of Burdwan, spinster. For some account of Lestock Wilson, who was a retired Commander in the Company's Marine service, see *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XXIV, pp. 28, 29.

Company's engineers in 1780 at the age of 20, and in 1782 was appointed by Warren Hastings to accompany Captain Samuel Turner on a mission to Bhutan which was ultimately to proceed to Tibet. Davis was an excellent artist and the Bhutan illustrations in Turner's "Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet" (published in 1800) are executed by him. The original drawings, nineteen in number, which were long in the possession of his son, Sir John Francis Davis, have now been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall collection. The Tibetan Government (or more probably the Chinese Resident) would not permit Davis to enter Tibet, on account of his profession as an engineer, and he therefore remained in Bhutan where he spent about six months. He was appointed to a writership on the Bengal Establishment on August 7, 1783: but there is a gap in the Records of the Government of India between that date and May 1, 1793, when we find him as Collector of Burdwan. On July 13, 1795, he was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Benares, and gallantly defended the narrow stairway of his residence, Nandesur House, with a hogspear, when it was attacked, after the murder of Mr. George Frederick Cherry, the Resident (9), on January 14, 1799, by the followers of Wazir Ali, the pretender to the *gadi* of Oudh (10). On May 6, 1800 Davis was transferred to the 24-Pergunnahs as First Magistrate and Superintendent-General of Police. On April 1, 1801, he became third member of the Board of Revenue and on May 1, 1804, Accountant-General. He resigned the service in India on February 21, 1806: and was elected a Director of the Company in 1810, retaining his seat until his death in 1819. He was the compiler of the famous Fifth Report in 1812.

What is the evidence upon which it may be presumed that Samuel Davis accompanied the Daniells on their expedition into Garhwal in 1789? The suggestion is that a clue may be found in a portfolio of miscellaneous drawings

(9) Cherry was also an artist. He was Lord Cornwallis' Persian Secretary at one time and when on a mission to Seringapatam in 1792, painted a portrait of Tippoo Sultan, which was presented to the East India Company in 1854 by Tippoo's son, Prince Gholam Muhammad, K.C.S.I., and now hangs in the Finance Committee-room at the India Office. A similar portrait once belonged to the Marquess Wellesley and is now in the collection at Apsley House. It has been several times engraved: and one of the engravings will be found in Lieut. James Hunter's "Picturesque Scenery in Mysore" published in 1805. (see Foster's Catalogue, p. 19.)

(10) See "Vizier Ali Khan, or the Massacre of Benares: a Chapter of Indian History" (first edition 1844, second edition 1871) by Sir John Francis Davis, Bart. K. C. B. (1795--1890), sometime Minister at Peking and Governor of Hong Kong, who was a child of three, when his life was saved by his father's gallant exploit. Col. J. H. Rivett-Carnac (Bengal Civil Service, 1858--1894) who was a grandson of Davis, relates in his "Many Memories" (London, 1910) that his grandmother kept the hog-spear in a corner of her drawing room in Portland Place and that Mountstuart Elphinstone used to come at least once a year to "do poojah to the spear." A sketch of Nandesur House by Samuel Davis is in the collection of prints at the Indian Museum. The younger Davis was appointed to a writership on the Company's China Establishment in 1813, while his father was a Director: and was promoted to be President of the Factory at Canton in 1822. Two of his brothers, Lestock Davis and Sullivan Davis, were writers on the Bengal Establishment: but the career of each was brief. The former arrived in India on June 17, 1819, became assistant to the Governor General's Agent in Bundelcund, and died at Seonee on December 2, 1821. The latter arrived in India on October 31, 1820 and died in Calcutta on December 22 of the same year.

by Davis, which is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection. This bears the book-plate of Sir John Francis Davis, and was presented through Lord Curzon in 1919 by Mr. Justice L. P. Beaufort, of Wynberg, Cape Colony, a great-grandson of Samuel Davis.

There appears to be no foundation, as far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, for the theory that the Daniells accompanied Davis into Bhutan. Had they done so, it is inconceivable, in the first place, that they would have returned without a single sketch of that country (11). William Daniell engraved and published a series of "Views of Bootan from sketches executed by Samuel Davis": and there are some six or eight of these views to be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1837 and 1838. The illustrations to this periodical were supplied by William Daniell: but in the preface to the *Annual* for 1837, it is distinctly stated that the Bhutan views are drawn from "sketches made by the late Samuel Davis, who visited Boutan in 1783." (12). Not one word is said as to any visit paid to Bhutan by William Daniell or his uncle, either by themselves or in the company of Davis: and the omission is inexplicable, if such an expedition actually was undertaken. Moreover, they did not arrive in India until the autumn of 1783, when Davis had returned from Bhutan. The legend seems to have arisen from an erroneous belief that Samuel Daniell, the brother of William, who lived for some time in South Africa and eventually died in Ceylon of malaria in 1811, had also travelled as far north as Bhutan. A statement to this effect appears in Redgrave's "Dictionary of British Artists of the English School" and also in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: but it has been corrected in the new edition of the latter work.

While no views of Bhutan are to be found in *Oriental Scenery*, the subjects of the sketches in the portfolio of drawings by Davis lend considerable colour to the belief that he was the companion of Thomas Daniell and his nephew in their journey to Garhwal in 1789, and possibly into Southern India also in 1792. We find sketches of "Trinomalee near Chevalpettore, three or four days' journey to the south of Madura," Tritchengur (Tritchencore), and "Outer Durg," and "South-east Jugdeo," the last two being Droogs or hill forts in the Burramahal.

(11) It is true that Thomas Daniell contributed a sketch of "The Thibet Mountains" as already stated, to the "Twenty Four Views of Hindoostan," published by Orme in London in January, 1805, but there is nothing improbable in the supposition that it was based upon a sketch by Davis. See following note.

(12) See "Oriental Annual" for 1837, preface, p.x. "I am requested by Mr. Daniell to state that the views in Boutan, engraved in the present volume were made from sketches by the late Samuel Davis, Esquire, who visited Boutan in 1783. Mr. Davis was an accomplished draughtsman, with whom Mr. Daniell was personally acquainted and can therefore answer for the accuracy and fidelity with which the sketches were made." Davis "died in 1819. The sketches are 1. Crossing a torrent in Bootan (p. 9). 2. Capta Castle, Bootan (p. 51): 3. Near Buxaduwar, Bootan (p. 54). 4. View near Wandepore, Bootan (p. 91): 5. Palace at Tassisudon, Bootan (p. 105): 6. Palace at Wandechy, Bootan (p. 121). No. 4 was worked up into a picture by William Daniell, who exhibited it at the Royal Academy of 1811. Two other Bhutan views are to be found in the "Oriental Annual" for 1838: 1. Guard House at Tassisudon, Boutan (p. 222): 2. Castle of Ponaka, in Boutan (p. 235).

The counterparts of all these are to be seen either in pictures exhibited by the Daniells at the Royal Academy or in *Oriental Scenery* (13). Again, we have sketches of Gour, the Fakeer's Rock "at Jehangeree on the Ganges," the Odoannullah (Oodwa-nullah) bridge (the scene of Major Thomas Adams' signal victory over Meer Kasim in 1763), "a basaltic rock in the hills of Rajemahal" the "Cascade at Suttisghur near Chunar" and, finally, no less than four sketches of the "Mootee Jhurna" fall in the Rajmahal hills of which distinct mention is made in the letter transcribed by Farington. Most important of all, however, is a sketch representing "Thomas Daniell, R.A., and his nephew William Daniell, R.A., together with the artist Mr. S. Davis," encamped amid mountainous scenery. A pencil inscription on the back of the sketch gives the locality as "the hot springs of (name left blank) in Bhutan." The opinion is hazarded here however (for reasons already stated) that the scene is laid in the foothills on the way to Garhwal. A reproduction of the sketch is given on the opposite page (14). It is suggested further that the series of six "views in the Sirinagur mountains" which are to be seen in the India Office, and of which the authorship has not been established, are the work of Samuel Davis. Three of the drawings are thus described by Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., in his catalogue (1906):—(1) The Coa Nuddy about five Koass (coss) from Coaduwar (Kotdwara) Ghaut: (2) Deasen, a village about midway from Coaduwar Ghaut to Sirinagur: (3) Sirinagur on the Alucnindra, the principal branch of the Gasges. The remaining three are catalogued as "views in the Sirinagur Mountains, British Garhwal." Five of the drawings are painted in oils on paper. The sixth is a water-colour copy of one of the "views in the Mountains."

There can be no question as to the artistic ability of Davis. Perhaps the best-known instance of his skill is a view of "Calcutta from Fort William", which forms part of a series of engravings on Indian subjects published in 1805-1807. The engraving was executed by C. Dubourg in coloured aquatint from a painting by Davis.

(13) The following Academy pictures were exhibited by Thomas Daniell: "Gate Leading to Hindoo Temple at Tritchencore," 1795: "Hindoo Temple at Trinomalee," 1796: "View at Chevalpettore with Hindoo Buildings," 1799: "Tritchencore, a mountain of great celebrity with the Hindoos," 1815: "A view taken near the magazine on the top of Ryacotta, a lofty Droog or hill fort, one of the Barraah Mah'l," 1815: "Krishnagherry a hill fort in the Barraah Mah'l," 1818. As regards "Oriental Scenery," we have the following: Third series (1801) No. 11. "Jug Deo and Warrangur, two of the twelve hill forts in the Barramah'l which were in the possession of the late Sultaun Tippoo, and given up without resistance to the English in 1792": No. 12. "Ryacotta in the Barramah'l one of the highest and strongest hill forts, taken by Major Gowdie in July 1792." Fourth Series (1807): No. 5. "Chevalpettore": No. 6. "Near Attoor in the Dindigul district."

(14) We have again to thank the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall for permission to reproduce the sketch, and Mr. F. Harrington, the Curator, for the admirable photograph which he has been good enough to take.

BENGAL, PAST AND PRESENT.
VOLUME XXV.



THOMAS DANIEL, R.A., AND WILLIAM DANIEL,
WITH THE ARTIST IN CAMP.
BY SAMUEL DAVIS.
From a sketch by T. Daniel, in the collection of the Museum.

WILLIAM DANIELL'S LETTER TO HIS MOTHER.

(AS TRANSCRIBED BY JOSEPH FARINGTON, R.A.)

Mr. Daniell's letter is dated July 30, 1790, from Baghulpoor.

The two Mr. Daniells explored a country very little known to the Europeans and even to the natives of Hindostan.

From this excursion they returned about four months before the letter was written. Their excursion lasted about 18 months.

They departed from Calcutta about the end of September, 1788, soon after the season of the rains had abated. As the roads at that time were not good, they were advised to proceed by water. The eldest Mr. Daniell hired a Pinnacle Budgerow, roomy and convenient, with masts and sails. They were long in getting through the river Cossimbazar on account of bad winds and strong currents, but at last entered the Ganges. The Cossimbazar river is about as wide as the Thames at London Bridge, the banks decorated with Hindoo temples and villages.

Much trade is carried on from cities on the Ganges by means of the river which makes it alive. When they entered the Ganges, they found it from one to three miles wide. When the rains overflow it, it is double that width. They were towed by 16 or 20 Watermen and went without wind about two or three miles an hour: with the wind about double that rate. The Rajemah'l hills appeared in three days—arrived at the city of Rajemah'l which 150 or 200 years ago was the capital of Bengal—visited the ruins of the place and were struck with a new stile of building. Soon after departing from thence saw a waterfall among the hills. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon fastened the boat and set of to get a near view—got to the fall in an hour and a half—found it between 30 and 40 feet wide, and the precipice over which it dashed about 40 feet high. Except in the rainy season the water is very inconsiderable, but what falls is so clear as to have been called in the Hindoosthanee language *Moote Thuma* (sic) or the Fall of Pearls (15)—returned to their boat about dusk.

In a few days reached Baghlipore situated on the banks of a small river which an island three miles wide and six long separates from the Ganges. A Resident is here settled to collect the revenues of the district of Rajemah'l. Here are a few gentlemen's houses with grounds laid out in the English taste. Proceeded to Monghir: a few miles below is a Hot well called Satacoonda much frequented by Hindoos who [come] to purify themselves by prayers and ablutions which they stand in great need of and to pray to the image of Satta, the wife of one of their principal gods. The water of this well is remarkably good. It is constantly carried to Calcutta for such as are [sick]—there are other wells in the neighbourhood but inferior. Mr. Daniell thought the waters of all of them better than those at Bath.

Monghir is esteemed the Montpelier of Hindoostan.

(15) The Motijharna, or pearl cascade.

Proceeding thence in a few days passed Patna, Ghazepore, and Benares—the two former Mussalman cities of consequence. The latter the first Hindoo city in the world. Idols and images are very numerous. The number of [those] who particularly on holidays go to get purified is considerable. This district is estimated the most fertile in India.

From hence in two days reached Chunar Gur situated on a rock which juts into the Ganges. Hearing that a party at Cawnpore were about to make the tour of Agra and Delhi they hired a small boat—pushed forward—in three weeks reached that place. That party had gone 10 or 12 days before. Heard of another party which was to go from Futtu Ghur 80 or 90 miles further up the country. They immediately proceeded to this place in palankeens and got to Futtu Ghur in a day and a night. The Coll. commanding with 12 or 13 gentlemen were preparing to make the excursion and kindly invited us to be of the party.

Between Chunar Gur and Cawnpore about 60 miles from the former place stands the Fort of Allahabad built by the Emperor Akbar about 200 years ago. It is situated in the conflux of the rivers Jumna and Ganges and makes a very magnificent appearance. Asoph ul Dowla is destroying this noble work and conveying the stones to Lucknow. For a few miles beyond the Fort the Ganges in consequence of a very narrow channel is so rapid that boats pass it with great danger and require dexterous management to prevent their upsetting.

Near hence the banks of the river begin to be very high—from 20 to 50 feet with wood and villages all the way to Cawnpore. During the dry season this celebrated river will scarcely admit a boat that draws four feet water to go up it: but in the rainy [season] is sufficiently deep to float a man-of-war.

The party left Futtu Ghur and proceeded towards Agra. 15 Europeans whose attendants and camp followers amounted to near 3,000, besides elephants, camels, horses, bullocks and other beasts of burthen. The usual manner of travelling was to rise about five in the morning, then walking till warm as it is rather cold in January and February so high up, and then mount elephants, camels, horses, etc. as [are] at hand—moved about 15 miles which we could do before 9 o'clock and found a breakfast, tents, etc. prepared by a guard sent on overnight. In about six days arrived at Agra. It is situated on the river Jumna whose banks for many miles are covered with ruins of Mussalman grandeur. But the principal object is the tomb of Mumtaz Zamaani or the most exalted of this age, the wife of Sha Johan, one of the Mogul Emperors, who reigned about 150 years ago. The material with which this immense octangular building is raised is chiefly marble and the inside laid with precious stones. It stands close to the river on a platform of near 40 feet high and between 2 and 300 feet square. In the four corners are placed four pyramidical pillars 150 feet high and being open at top were formerly used for assembling people to prayers. In the centre of the building are the tombs of Sha Johan and his queen: an elegant garden is adjoining with fountains. The whole cost £750,000 and was begun and finished in 15 years.

There is also a Mussalman fort of great antiquity.

Between Agra and Delhi the country not long ago was uncommonly beautiful, but such destruction has been brought on it by war, scarcely a tree or blade of grass is to be seen.

In 14 days after leaving Agra, having passed through Mutura, where Scindia (16) had his camp, reached Delhi, the capital of Hindoostan, but miserably fallen from its former greatness. A Pallace was assigned for their residence, but the curiosity of the people to see them obliged them to retire to the skirts of the city.

Delhi is said to be 30 miles in circumference--of it nothing [to be seen] but ruins of the remains of mosques, pallaces, tombs and forts which are innumerable. The profusion of marble which is scattered about gives an idea of its former magnificence.

There are still remaining little decayed the tombs of some of the Mogul Emperors. The mosques which have suffered least are superb beyond description. Black and white marble are the materials with which they are built and the golden domes that finish their buildings add considerably to their beauty. Handsome gateways and noble flights of steps.

Delhi was the seat of government during the reign of 12 Emperors.

The present inhabited city of Delhi is in tolerable order. They visited a pillar in the city of this form (sketch given showing a cylindrical shape) which measured 242 feet in height from its base. From the top they commanded an extent of 50 miles in circumference strewn over with heaps of ruins. This pillar has been raised upwards of 750 years yet has suffered little injury. They staid at Delhi three weeks. They got up and breakfasted by sunrise and then went to work. From Delhi they crossed the Jumna and proceeded to Anopshur, the highest settlement the English have, which they reached in five days. They thought they saw the snowy mountains from this neighbourhood.

With a guard of 50 soldiers Mr. Daniell, his nephew, and four other gentlemen only proceeded towards the snowy mountains nine days at about 14 miles a day: and reached a large city in the country of Rohilcund which Mr. Hastings' trial has made well-known (17). The commander, a native, showed them great attention. From hence the first range of mountains are distant about 15 miles and the snowy ones which they saw from Anopshur about 10 or 12 days journey, which were just seen from here. The commander wrote to the Rajah or prince of Sirinagur for permission for the party to enter his country. Sirinagur is the capital of a country of that name. As an answer could not arrive in less than 10 or 12 days they visited in the meantime Hordwar, above 30 miles from Nujeebabad, signifying the Gate of Heaven in the Hindoo language, where the Ganges rushes out of the hills and enters the

(16) Mahadaji Scindia, who died suddenly at Wanowree, near Poona, in 1794.

(17) The context shows that the place in question is Najibabad, now in the Bijnor district. Under the treaty of October 7, 1774, it was provided that Faizulla Khan, the Rohilla chief of Rampore, should "send the remainder of the Rohillas to the other side of the river" into the territory of the Nawab of Najibabad.

plains of Hindustan. Here vast numbers of people assemble from all parts of India to perform ablutions and free themselves from impurities they may have been guilty of. A great annual fair is held here. It was now a time of one of their festivals when they carry their religious enthusiasm to excess, almost approaching madness. It was supposed 100,000 people were now assembled here. It was attended with some danger to the Europeans while they were possessed with this Phrenzy.

The Rajah's answer was favourable. Such was the prospect of difficulties to encounter in endeavouring to accomplish this further excursion that two of the four gentlemen who accompanied Mr. Daniel declined the undertaking. The remainder set off from Nujeebabad and the first day entered a *gaut* or pass into the mountains and stopped at night at a village called Coajuwar. The difficulties of travelling now appeared so formidable that their Bengal servants left them, and they hired hill servants to carry their baggage, etc. This delayed them some days. A few soldiers were placed at the *gaut* to prevent any persons from entering the pass without permission from the Rajah.

The two first days journey lay up a river course or nullah (18) in which fragments of rocks, etc. made the passage very difficult—the other few days journey over the sides and tops of mountains from which scenes of the grandest kind were exhibited. They here found the oak, fir, Beech, willow, and raspberry bush 10 feet high (19). On their arrival at Sirin (*sic*) they did not meet with such a reception from the Nabob (Rajah) as they expected. He was at war with a neighbouring Prince (20) and seemed desirous of the assistance of the Europeans which they declining he appeared to have an intention of securing their persons by proposing that they should cross the river in order to be removed in case the enemy attacked the city. They saw through the contrivance, and finding he could not obtain his object the Rajah behaved civilly to them. Three days the time they remained, the inhabitants of the city crowded round their persons to gaze at their novel appearance so as to oblige them to apply to the Rajah for soldiers to keep off the mob. The situation of the affairs however prevented them accomplishing the wished for object of visiting the snowy mountains though only three or four days journey from Sirinagur, but an enemy so near made it dangerous. They therefore proceeded on their return towards the plains of Hindoostan by the way of the *gaut* which they entered, after having had the gratification of visiting a country which no European had ever seen.

After making a circuitous visit to the city of . . . (21) they came down to Lucknow where the Nabob (22) visited them and expressed his pleasure in seeing the drawings which [Mr. Daniell] had made and commissioned him to

(18) The "Koah-nullah" which forms the subject of the 15th sketch in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery." "Coajuwar" is the village of Kotdwara.

(19) The common *fragaria indica* which resembles a raspberry.

(20) The Goorkhas who had occupied the neighbouring district of Kumaon.

(21) The name is left blank in Farington's transcript.

(22) Asaf-ud daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh from 1775 to 1797.

make a set of views about Lucknow (23) which Mr. D. undertook and under many disadvantages, it being the rainy season, completed them, which took him three months. The Nabob received them, but Mr. D. could never get the smallest retribution for his time and trouble.

Mr. D. has not been successful in his endeavour to make a fortune. All admired his work but little was received from those who expressed it.

"FROM CALCUTTA TO THE SNOWY RANGE" IN 1789.

It will be seen from the opening words of William Daniell's letter to his mother, that he left Calcutta with his uncle towards the end of September, 1788, proceeding by river as the custom was. "The eldest Mr. Daniell hired a pinnace Budgerow, roomy and convenient, with masts and sails." A Budgerow, says the writer of the letter-press in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 100), "is a large unwieldy flat-bottomed boat with eighteen oars, more or less, and a lofty poop, covering nearly three-fourths of its length, under which are two capacious cabins with venetian blinds to exclude the sun and to admit the air."

Nothing is said about the opening part of the voyage: and yet it aroused the unstinted admiration of Miss Emma Roberts, who made the journey in 1835 (*Sketches and Characteristics of Hindoostan*, Vol. I, p. 274):—

The reputation for splendour of the Anglo-Indian style of living appears to be fully borne out by the grandeur of the display made upon the banks of the Hooghly. The European towns which grace the shore are superb: palace succeeds to palace as the boat passes Ishara, Barrackpore, and its opposite neighbour Serampore whose broad and beautiful esplanade presents one of the finest architectural landscapes imaginable. The French settlement at Chandernagore offers a less striking and imposing front and though boasting houses of equal splendour does not appear to much advantage from the river while Chinsura at a short distance is infinitely more picturesque.

The ancient Portuguese settlement at Bandel was, however, certainly visited: for sketch No. 8 of the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "a view 'Near Bandell on the river Hooghly'" and the opportunity is taken to introduce a reference to the practice of *suttee*. The letter-press says:—

"The small monumental erection in the centre of this view, as well as the obelisk near it, rudely carved of wood, are called *Suttees* . . . having been raised to commemorate the immolation of certain unfortunate females who in compliance with a horrid custom among the Hindus, had been induced to give the last dreadful proof of conjugal fidelity."

At one time Bandel was a favourite haunt with residents in Calcutta.

Each other place is hot as Hell,

When breezes fan you at Bandell.

(23) The following views of Lucknow are included in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* (published in June, 1801): 5. The Punj Mahalla Gate: 6. Palace of Sujah-ud-doula (Machhi Bhawan): 18. Lucknow from the opposite bank of the Goomty.

Thomas Daniell also exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1799 a picture entitled "Dutch Budjerah's on the River Ganges." The sketch was probably taken off Chinsurah which remained in the possession of the Dutch until 1825 when it was exchanged for Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra.

On account of bad winds and strong currents they were long in getting through the river Cossimbazar. This stream, otherwise known as the "Bogrutty" (Bhagirathi) is shown in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* (published in 1781) as leaving the Ganges at Pookareah (Pukharia) and flowing past Jangipur, Moorshedabad, and Plassey, to Nadia, where it meets the Jellingi and unites with it to form the Hugli. Thomas Twining, who took the same journey in 1794, writes (*Travels in India One Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 94 and 111):—

Shortly after passing Nuddea we reached the head of the Hooghly, as that point is called where the Jellinghy and Cossimbazar, two branches of the Ganges, meeting, form by their union that river. The Cossimbazar Channel is considerably less than the Hooghly, scarcely exceeding the width of the Thames at Richmond, even in the rainy season. The large triangular tract of country, bounded by the two streams to the East and West, and by the course of the Ganges to the North, is called the Cossimbazar Island. . . . Six coss beyond Jungypore we reached Sooty, a small village on the right bank, and from which this part of the Cossimbazar river takes its name, being called the Sooty Nullah. It is very contracted and shallow, and not being navigable, in the dry months, obstructs the navigation between Calcutta and the Ganges until the general rising of the water.

The first city mentioned by Daniell is Rajmahal: and sketch 24 in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* represents the "Mausoleum of Nawab Asoph Khan at Raje Mahl." The ruins of the old Mahomedan city are buried in jungle and extend for about four miles to the west of the modern village. It is not clear what the "new stile of building" is which struck the artists. The chief antiquities are the Jama Masjid built by Raja Man Singh of Amber, (Akbar's Rajput General, who selected Rajmahal as the capital of Bengal after his return from the conquest of Orissa in 1592), the Palaces of Sultan Shuja and Kasim Ali, Nawab of Bengal, and the *phulbari* or flower-garden. William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1822 a "View at Rajemah'l on the river Ganges." This represents a tomb on the river bank and is probably the picture engraved by J. C. Armytage for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834 (p. 93) and there entitled "Mausoleum at Raje Mah'l." The sketch in *Oriental Scenery* was reproduced by Thomas Daniell in a larger painting which was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1822: "A part of the Mausoleum of Newaub Assuph Kahn at Rajemah'l on the western bank of the Ganges." Mention has already been made of his "View on the Nullah, near Rajmahal, Bengal." which is in the National Gallery collection. William Hodges exhibited a "View of a ruined Mosque at Rajemahael in Bengal" at the Royal Academy of 1787.

After leaving Rajmahal, the next point of interest is Siccra Gulley (Sakrigali), six miles east of Sahibganj : which forms the subject of sketch No. 9 of the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*. The village lies at the base of a long promontory running down from the Rajmahal hills, which terminate in a rocky knoll : on the top of which is an old Mussulman tomb. The letter-press to the sketch in *Oriental Scenery* says :—

The point of land here projecting into the river Ganges is called Siccra Gulley from a military pass of that name in the adjoining hills. At this place is commonly an assemblage of small vessels which with the craft of various descriptions that appear scattered over the surface of this widely extended river, produce a most impressive effect of commercial activity. . . . The small building upon the lower eminence is a bungalow or cottage, belonging to the British resident of the Baughulpore district. . . . On the upper ground is the tomb of a Mahomedan sied, or holy man."

The pass, which consists of a narrow winding road, has long ceased to be of strategic importance : and Bishop Heber, when he visited "Sicligully" in 1824. speaks of the ruinous condition of the bungalow and the adjoining barracks of the Hill Rangers, raised by Augustus Cleveland of "Jungletery" fame who died in January 1784, in the river, on board the *Atlas* Indiaman which was conveying him to Europe. Nor are the fortifications to be seen which struck Emma Roberts :—

The monuments at Sicligully and the neighbouring hills have a fort-like appearance : they are surrounded by bastioned walls and arise on spots cleared of woods on the summits of these eminences.

Hodges, in his *Travels in India* (London 1793, p. 22) gives an engraving of a picture by him of "The Pass of Sicri Gully from Bengal entering into the province of Bahar" from "the collection of Warren Hastings, Esq.," and mentions that it was formerly fortified with a strong wall and gate.

Twining must be referring to Sakrigali when he writes : "We (entered a fine nullah after leaving Colgong and) came to at a very picturesque spot near a bungalow. The next day we passed Baughulpore, commonly called Boglipore, a considerable town which gives its name both to the district and to the nullah on which we were proceeding. A large white house upon the right bank of this nullah belonged to the same officer as the bungalow near which who had stopped the previous evening. Its previous occupier was Mr. Cleveland." . . . "The nullah joining the Ganges at each extremity, we came out at its northern end after a very pleasant voyage through it."

Reference is next made to "a waterfall among the hills. . . . called in the Hindoosthanee language Mootee Thuma [sic], or the fall of pearls." We shall find this cataract mentioned in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 101) :—

We were induced to hand and visit the waterfall of Mooteejerna, between Rajmehal and Colgong, but it did not at all realize due expectations,

falling far short of what we had seen in the southern extremity of the Peninsula (24).

The Motijharna, or pearl cascade, is situated at the head of a picturesque glen of the Rajmahal hills, about two miles south-west of Maharajpur Ghat Station, on the East Indian Railway loop line. There are two falls, each fifty or sixty feet in height, the water of a small hill stream tumbling down over two ledges of rock. In spite of the disappointment expressed, the cascade has often been sketched. Among the drawings contributed by Thomas Daniell to "Twenty-Four Views in Hindoostan: drawn by Daniell and Col. (Francis Swain) Ward," (London, 1803) is the following: "19. Distant View of Motee Jhurna, a Waterfall in the Rajmehal Hills, Bengal." This is a set of particular value: and is usually bound up with Lieut. James Hunter's "Picturesque Mysore" and Blagdon's "History of India." There is a complete copy in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection. The waterfall was visited by William Hodges when he travelled by palankeen from Calcutta to "Mongheir" in the summer of 1781, and a painting of it by him was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1787 under the title "View of the Falls of Mootejerna in Bengal." (25)

Between Colgong and Bhagalpur the river takes a sharp bend and on the left hand bank is Patharghatta, where a halt must have been made, for at the Royal Academy of 1804, Thomas Daniell exhibited "Pattergotta on the river

(24) At Puppenassum and Courtallum in the Tinnevely district (see sketches Nos. 2 and 3 in the 4th series of *Oriental Scenery*: and engraving by J. H. Kernot of William Daniell's sketch of Puppenassum in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 at p. 61). These falls were favourite subjects with both the Daniells. Thomas Daniell exhibited: 1. A picture called "Courtallum near Tancarchy" at the Royal Academy of 1796: 2. "Puppenassum—a waterfall in the mountains in the Tinnevely district" at the Royal Academy of 1800: 3. "Tancanche" at the Royal Academy of 1808: 4. "Puppenassum, a cataract on the river Tumrabunni in the Tinnevelly mountains of great celebrity with the Hindoos," at the Royal Academy of 1812. William Daniell's Academy pictures of Southern India waterfalls were: 1. "The Falls of Courtallum or Teia Cauchy in the Tinnevely district," 1833: 2. "The Falls of Cauvery, Southern India," 1833: 3. "Waterfall near Vallagunta in the mountains that divide the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, its height between seven and eight hundred feet," 1829. Puppenassum (Papanasham) is 6 miles from Ambasamudram and 29 miles from Palamcottah. It lies west of Tinnevely at the foot of the western ghats. The height of the cataract is only 80 feet, but the body of the water is greater than at Courtallum. There is a large Saivite temple here. Courtallum (Kuttallam) is nowadays a summer residence. It is distant 38 miles by road from Palamcottah, through Tinnevely, which lies to the south. There are three falls, the highest being 1,000 feet above the sea. Tancarchy, Tancanche, Teia Cauchy (Tenkasi) is 3 miles from Courtallum, and has a fine temple. The falls of the Cauvery are at Shivasamudram, 78 miles from Bangalore. The height to which the water descends is about 200 feet, and in the rainy season, an unbroken sheet of water, three-quarters of a mile broad, falls into the precipice.

(25) There are four sketches of the "Mootee Jhurna" (Upper fall 104 feet: lower 105 feet) by Samuel Davis in a portfolio in the Victoria Memorial Collection. A drawing of "The Motee Gerna or Fall of Pearls in the Rajmahal Hills" will likewise be found in Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ramus Forrest's "Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna" (twenty-six coloured aquatints, 1824). The Victoria Memorial collection possesses a framed apartment of the Falls (with the same legend) by T. Sutherland (published by R. Ackerman, London, August 1, 1824).

Ganges: Hindoo devotees." Emma Roberts writes: "The projecting points of Colgong and Patergotta form a beautiful bay at this place." (Vol. ii, p. 88). Hodges (*Travels in India*, p. 25) says: "The Ganges has more the appearance of an ocean at this place than of a river."

After leaving Bhagalpur and on the way to Monghyr sketches were taken at Jehangira and Sultangunge; ("Sculptured rocks at Sultangunge": T. Daniell, R.A., 1806: "The Fakcer's Rock near Sultangunge": *Or. Scenery*, VI. Nos. 9 and 10). Emma Roberts' account of these places is as follows:—

Among the interesting places in the neighbourhood of Monghyr the celebrated rock of Jungheera must not be omitted. It consists of several masses of grey granite rising boldly from the river. It has been during many ages considered one of the most sacred places in the Ganges, and is a great resort of Hindoo devotees. Jungheera is inhabited by Hindoo fakcers. At a considerable distance below Jungheera there are other rocks: profusely sculptured.

The difficulties of navigation at this point were, she says, tremendous:—

At Jungheera, a bold and picturesque rock rising from the centre of the river, the current seems to concentrate its power . . . and when the river is full, it is only a strong wind which can enable vessels to struggle successfully against the overpowering vehemence of the torrent.

The more prosaic Twining observes (p. 126):—

Soon after re-entering the great river (at Bhaugalpore) we passed Sultangunge on the western (left) bank and near it a small island consisting of a rock of a conical form and considerable height. . . . Although a picturesque object, it is a serious obstruction to the navigation of the river.

His rate of progress is thus recorded (p. 127):—

"In two days more (after passing Sultangunge) we reached Monghir."

At Monghyr "esteemed the Montpelier of Hindoostan" the Sitakund spring was visited. There are frequent allusions to these springs in Anglo-Indian literature. General Godfrey Charles Mundy, in his "Pen and Pencil Sketches in India," which gives an account of Lord Combermere's journey through the northern provinces (London, 1st edition 1832, with 26 etchings of hunting scenes by Landseer) writes under date of February 25, 1829:—

The chief lion of the place is a hot well called the Seeta Coond or well of Secta—the Apollo of Indian mythology—about four miles from the Fort (of Monghyr). It is situated in a pretty wooded dell: and the fact is singular that, within a few feet of the hot well, there are several springs of cold water. The heat of the Seeta Coond is usually about 137 degrees of Fahrenheit; it is painful to keep the hand for more than an instant in the stream; and instances are recorded of persons having been scalded to death by falling into it. The water, having no mineral admixture in its composition, is extremely pleasant to the taste; and such is its purity and durability that I considered six dozen

quarts, sent me by a friend for my voyage to England, an offering at least equivalent to Horace's "plenus Albani Cadus." The well is considered a spot of great sanctity by the Hindoos, and superstition has invested it with a divine origin.

Thomas Twining (1794) thus records his impressions :—

I had no means of ascertaining the heat, but my guide said it was sufficient to boil an egg in a very short time—a fact I could easily conceive, for I could not keep my hand in the water for a moment. No mineral quality was discoverable in it either by the taste or by the external appearance of the ground over which it flowed away. Its principal virtue was its purity and consequent wholesomeness and also its property of remaining good for a great length of time in casks or bottles. For these reasons it is not only much drunk by the wealthier inhabitants of Monghir or such as can afford to send for it, but is often despatched to Calcutta for the use of persons about to undertake a sea voyage (p. 129).

Mr. E. B. Eastwick in his *Hand Book to the Bengal Presidency* (1883) mentions in his account of "Munger" (p. 185) that the spring, which is "a pool from 5 to 20 feet deep," is "railed in to prevent a recurrence of pilgrims being pushed in at festivals."

No sketches appear to have been taken at Sitakund or at Monghyr itself : but Peer Pahar, a steep hill just three miles from Monghyr railway station, on the way to Sitakund, which is two miles further on, supplies the subject for a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1813 : "A view looking towards the river Ganges taken from an eminence called Peer Pahar." There is a saint's tomb on the top of the hill—hence its name—and a bungalow which was once occupied by Col. (or Gen.) Beckett and his Kashmiri wife, and now belongs to the Tagore family.

Patna, Ghazipore, and Benares, are duly passed after leaving Monghyr. It was probably on the occasion of this upward journey that Moneah, or Maner, was visited, after leaving Patna (26). Sketch No. 12 of the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "The Mausoleum of Mucdoom Shah Dowlut at Moneah, nearly at the junction of the Soane and the Ganges." Mucdoom Shah died in the reign of the Emperor Jehanghir early in the sixteenth century. Says Twining of this part of the journey (p. 140) :—

About nineteen miles after leaving Dinapore, we arrived at the mouth of the Soane. . . . Its sources are in some hills connected with the chain which begins at Rajmah'l, through an opening in which it flows in a northerly direction, entering the southern parts of Shahabad under the impregnable heights of Rotas, passing not far from the ancient city of Sasseram . . . and finally joining the Ganges near the

(26) "From Patna I made an excursion on foot, about five coss, to view the mosque of Moonhier, on the river Soane."—Hodges (*Travels in India*, p. 45). This visit was paid when the artist was on the way to Benares with Hastings in the summer of 1781, prior to theurrection of Cheyt Singh.

town of Moneah at a point where stands a fine mausoleum erected over one of the ancient princes of the country.

No sketches of Ghazipore are to be found in *Oriental Scenery* but Thomas Daniell exhibited a "View of the garden of Fyz Ali Kahn taken at Ghazepore on the river Ganges" at the Royal Academy of 1820, and "a Mosque, and public well near the garden of Fyz Ali Khan at Ghazepore on the banks of the river Ganges" at the Royal Academy of 1824: while William Daniell showed "A Mahomedan Mausoleum at Ghazepore" at the Royal academy of 1800. As regards Patna and Benares, sketches Nos. 10 and 14 of the first series of "Oriental Scenery" (views taken in 1789 and 1790) represent respectively "part of the city of Patna" and "Ramnugger, nearly opposite Benares" (27). Sketch No. 20 of the third series is "The Baolee, or public bath, at Ramnugger." The "Oriental Annual" also contains engravings of the three following sketches of Benares by William Daniell: 1834, p. 128, "Mosque (of Aurangzeb) at Benares" p. 142, "Shuwallah Gaut, Benares"; 1835, p. 190, "The Bernar Pagoda, Benares." The following pictures of Benares were exhibited by the Daniells at the Royal Academy in the years specified: Thomas Daniell: View at Benares, 1797: Gate of Old Fort at Benares, 1799: Gauts, etc. at Benares, 1802; part of Benares, 1806; A scene on the river Ganges, above Benares, 1814: William Daniell: Shuwallah Ghaut, Benares, 1802. William Hodges' Diploma picture, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1787, represents a "View of part of the city of Benares in the East Indies."

Sketch No. 10 of the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*" represents "Ramgur or Rampoor, in the district of Benares": and the letter-press states that the place "at present has little of magnificence to boast of." We find a clue in Twining (p. 153): "In two days more (after leaving Ghazypore) having passed the Goomti, a small river on our right and near it the village of Rampore, we reached Benares."

Chunar Gur, "fifteen miles higher up the river from Benares" (Twining, p. 155) is reached in two days after leaving that place. It provides two sketches for "Oriental Scenery." Drawing No. 23 of the third series is a view of the "Mausoleum of Kausim Solemanee at Chunar Gur," which is stated to be "17 miles above Benares": and No. 24 in the first series (views taken in 1789 and 1790) represents a "Gate leading to the Musjed at Chunar Gur." A painting of "Chumar (*sic*) Gur, an ancient fortress on the left bank of the river Ganges" was exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1827 and is now in the Tagore collection. The Fort of Chunar, writes Twining (p. 155) is "considered almost impregnable": and it certainly resisted with success two assaults by the troops of Colonel Hector Munro after the battle of Buxar in 1764.

(27) A budgerow, flying a large Union Jack, figures prominently in the foreground of the sketch of Ramnugger.

The journey from Chunar to Cawnpore in a "small boat," hired for the purpose of speed, takes three weeks. "Thirty miles beyond Chunar we passed on our left Mirzapoor." (Twining, p. 156). "A short distance from Mizapoor" (*sic*) a banyan tree attracts the notice of the travellers; and an engraving from a drawing by William Daniell is given opposite page 184 of the "Oriental Annual" for 1834. It is no doubt "The Banyan Tree" which forms the subject of a picture exhibited by the same artist at the Royal Academy of 1833.

We next come to Allahabad. Here special mention is made of the manner in which Asoph-ool-Dowla, the Nabob of Oudh, is dismantling the Fort and conveying the stones to Lucknow. Of the Fort Twining gives the following description. (p. 156):

The interior of the fort is the part the most interesting, it containing the Palace of the Emperor Akbar. It is a large building of red stone near the edge of a spacious area paved with the same material, on the Jumna side of the fort. It is surrounded by a handsome colonnade formed by ranges of double columns richly worked. But more remarkable than the Palace itself is an octagonal pavilion of great beauty connected with it, towards the west. It consists of three storeys. . . . (which) are encircled by a colonnade of 40 pillars from which this beautiful structure takes its name of *Chilus Setoon*.

Sketch No. 6 in the first series of "Oriental Scenery" represents the "Chalees Satoon" or forty pillars. "The buildings in general here," it is stated in the letter-press "are in the grandest style of Mahomedan architecture."

Sketch No. 8 in the same series shows "part of the Palace in the Fort of Allahabad," and the letter-press alludes to the vandalism of Asaf-ud-Doula:

This building, composed chiefly of free stone, was erected by the Emperor Akbar: the pillars are richly ornamented and the whole executed in a masterly style. In the centre of the terrace, on the top of the building, stood a turret of white marble, very elegantly finished, which was taken down by order of the Nabob of Oudh, and sent to Lucknow in the year 1789. Since this view was taken (1788/1789) the Nabob of Oudh has ordered the whole of the building to be taken down and carried to Lucknow, with the intention, it is said, to be again erected in that city: a circumstance much to be regretted, as the abilities of modern workmen are by no means equal to a task so difficult and so extraordinary as the separating, removing and again uniting the materials of so excellent a structure.

Asaf-ud-daula (who figures in Zoffany's well-known picture of Colonel Mordaunt's Cock-match) was the fourth of the Nabob Wazirs of Oudh and reigned from 1775 until 1797. He was (says the writer of an article on "Lucknow in *Nawabi Times*" in the *Pioneer* of May 6th 1921) in some respects

the greatest of the Nawabs. (28). He removed the capital from Fyzabad to Lucknow where he built the Imambara, the Rumi Durwaza, the Palace which afterwards become the Residency, and a bridge near the Goomtee.

Two other sketches of Allahabad are to be seen in the first series of "Oriental Scenery": No. 17, "Mausoleum of Sultaun Chusero at Allahabad" and No. 22 "Mausoleum of Sultaun Purveiz near Allahabad." In the third series there are two more: No. 1. "Mausoleum of the Rancee wife of the Emperor Jehanghire, near Allahabad" and No. 8 "Entrance to the Mausoleums, Sultaun Khusero's garden near Allahabad." Of the last-named garden Emma Roberts writes (vol. 2, p. 30):

Allahabad affords a mournful example of the want of public spirit in the Moosulman population of the neighbourhood. A noble caravanserai built by Sultan Khosroo, which forms a superb quadrangle entered by four gothic gateways and surrounded by cloisters running along the four sides of a battlemented wall, has been permitted to fall into a state of deplorable decay. The garden adjoining, finely planted with mango-trees is also in a neglected and deteriorated state.

"The second day after leaving Allahabad, we passed on our left the town and small district of Corah, forming part of the great district of Allahabad (thermometer 98° in the boats: October 1794)." Twining, p. 165 Sketch No. 21 of the first series of "Oriental Scenery" (1795) "drawn and engraved by Thomas Daniell" and "taken in the years 1789 and 1790," represents a "Hindoo Temple near Currah, on the east bank of the river Ganges, about 100 miles above Benares on the opposite bank." The letter-press says: "The banks of the Ganges are here very lofty, steep, and picturesque: but are subject to considerable alterations in the rainy season, as the river then rises to a height of thirty feet." Two other views of Currah are to be found in the third series of "Oriental Scenery" (1801): sketch No. 1. "Near the Fort of Currah on the river Ganges": and sketch No. 21. "View from the ruins of the Fort of Currah, on the river Ganges." The letter-press says: "The walls of the Fort of Currah are nearly all destroyed: what appears in this view (No. 21) was formerly part of a gateway." William Daniell exhibited at the British Institution in 1830, "Scene near Currah, Manikpore on the Ganges, with native females carrying the water from the sacred stream": and a similar picture at the Academy of 1832. Currah (Karra) is the name of a considerable town about 40 miles to the north-west of Allahabad: and Corah (Kora) is the name of another town, in the Fatehpur district, now much decayed, about 100 miles to the north-west of the same place. The provinces of Kora and Allahabad, which were taken from

(28) "In polished and agreeable manners, in public magnificence, in private generosity, and, it must be admitted, in wasteful profusion, Asaf-ud-Dowlah, King of Oude, might probably be compared with the most splendid Sovereigns of "Europe." (Twining, p. 311). But, as we shall see later, Zoffany, Daniell, and Ozias Humphry had cause to remember him with less rapture.

Shuja-ud-Daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh in 1765 and given by Clive to the Emperor Shah Alam are often called "Corah and Currah." In the time of Akbar Kora was the capital of a *Sarkar* in the *Subah* of Allahabad. Manikpur is a village on the north bank of the Ganges, slightly to the north of Currah, and is now a station on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. There is a drawing of "A Ferry on the Ganges at Karrah" in General Mundy's "Pen and Pencil Sketches in India" (1832). Between Currah and Cawnpore on the opposite bank of the Ganges, and in the Rae Bareilly district, is Dalmow, of which a drawing by Thomas Daniell is given in "Twenty-four views of Hindustan" "drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures by Mr. (Thomas) Daniell and Colonel (Francis Swain) Ward" (London, 1805). It was at Dalmow that Sir Robert Abercromby, the Commander-in-Chief met Asaf-ud-Daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and agreed upon joint action against the Rohillas in 1794 (Second Rohilla War).

No sketches seem to have taken at Cawnpore, which, says Hodges (*Travels*, p. 100) "may be considered as a great encampment." A brigade was stationed there "amounting, on the war establishment, to ten thousand men." From Cawnpore the travellers proceeded to Futty Ghur in a day and a night. Twining says (p. 170): "from Cawnpore to Futty Ghur the river offered nothing remarkable excepting the remains on the western bank of the celebrated city of Canouge": Sketch No. 12 in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery" represents "Cannouge, on the river Ganges:" and there is another of "Ruins at Cannouge" (No. 7) in the first series. "It is impossible," says the letter-press to the fourth series, "to look at these miserable remains without the most melancholy sensations and the strongest conviction of the instability of man's proudest works." There is similar moralizing in the "Oriental Annual" for 1834 (p. 188.)

At Futty Ghur the Daniells joined a party which was preparing for an excursion to Delhi and Agra. The letter makes mention of 15 Europeans, "whose attendants and camp followers amounted to near 3,000." The number seems excessive, and it may be that 3,000 is an error in transcription for 300. Yet it was certainly the custom in those days to travel in State. Sir Edward Paget, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1822 to 1825 (when he was succeeded by Lord Combermere) journeyed to Lucknow in October, 1823, and was thus escorted:

I have often heard of the multitudes which accompany a camp in India, but, without seeing it, it was quite impossible to form an idea of it. I suppose that the total number of my suite and escort does not exceed 250 persons, and I am confident that I am within bounds when I say that the camp-followers exceed 5,000. These consist of servants of all sorts, tent pitchers, the drivers of all sorts of vehicles and animals, from the sociable down to the wheelbarrow and from the elephant down to the spaniel: tradesmen of all deno-

minations, from the cobbler up to the silver-smith, victuallers, thieves, money-lenders, lawyers! (29).

Even maiden ladies travelled with a large retinue. Emma Roberts (Vol. 1, p. 157) says that her train for a march up-country with another lady, consisted, besides two female attendants, of a khansamah who had the direction of the whole journey, three khidmutghars, a sirdar-bearer, a tailor, washerman and water-carrier, a cook and mussaulchees, twelve bearers for each palanquin, and claishees (khalasis, tent pitchers) banghie-bearers and coolies almost innumerable. They took twelve camels with them which were lightly loaded with a couple of tents, and were escorted by a guard of sepoy.

The journey from Futty Ghur to Agra occupied six days, across country. At Firozabad, on the opposite side of the Jumna to Agra, a sketch is taken of "The Hirkarra Camel" which forms the subject of an exhibit by William Daniell in the Royal Academy of 1832. This picture, with its companion "The Caparisoned Elephant," sketched near Delhi, and exhibited in the same year, was bought by Sir John Soane, R.A., and the two now form part of the Soane collection in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Both were engraved for the "Oriental Annual" of 1834 (pp. 204, 210). At Agra a number of sketches were taken. Thomas Daniell exhibited the "Principal Gate of the Fort of Agra" at the Royal Academy of 1803; and one of William Daniell's earliest Academy pictures was a "view of the Fort at Agra taken from the ruins of the Palace of Islaum Khan Rumi" (1799). He also showed at the Academy of 1835. "The citadel of Agra which (according to the autobiographical memoirs of the Emperor Jehanguier) cost in building £26,550,000, taken from near the ruined palace of Islaum Khan Rumi, the Chief Engineer of the Emperor Humaioon."

The Taj Mahal was not forgotten. There is only one sketch of Agra in "Oriental Scenery" and that is No. 18 of the first series, which represents "the principal gate leading to the Taje Mah'l at Agra," termed in the letter "the tomb of Mumtaza Zemani." This was one of the names of Arjamand Banu better known as Noor Mehal, for whom the Mausoleum was built by her husband Shah Jehan in 1631. The letter-press is as follows:—

This gate is of red stone and white marble, elegantly ornamented. The spandrels over the arches are decorated with foliage of various coloured stones inlaid. The Taje Mah'l is a Mausoleum of white marble . . . and is considered by the natives as the most beautiful work of the kind in Hindoostan. . . The space between the gate and the tomb is converted into a garden with avenues of trees, fountains, beds of flowers, etc. The river Jumna washes the lofty walls of the terrace on which this celebrated building stands.

(29) Letter dated October 28, 1823, to Lady Harriet Paget: quoted in Letters and Memorials of the Hon. Sir Edward Paget, G. C. B. (Bliss Sands & Co., London, 1898). Selections from the letters were printed in Vol. XXIV of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 95—102).

The drawing is one of the least happy of Thomas Daniell's efforts, and it will be noticed that he keeps his own opinion of the building in reserve. Hodges, on the contrary, exhibited two pictures of the Taj at the Academy, in 1787 and in 1794, and writes in his *Travels* (p. 126) that "the whole together appears like a most perfect pearl on an azure ground." Zoffany's comment will be recalled: "It wants nothing but a glass case to cover it." William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1829 a painting of "The Taj Mahal at Agra viewed from the opposite side of the river Jumna": and an engraving of the picture by J. Lee is given in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 at p. 199.

On the way from Delhi to Agra, sketches were taken at Fatehpur Sikri and Secundra. William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1833 the "Mosque of Futtypore Sicri near Agra built by the Emperor Akbar": and the frontispiece to the *Oriental Annual* for 1838 is "Futtypore Sicri": while at p. 110 there is another engraving from a drawing by William Daniell of a "Minor at Futtypore Sicri." Of Secundra there is a sketch (No. 9) in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*: "The gate leading to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar at Secundra, near Agra."

The party passed in due course through Muttra (Brindaban) "where Scindia had his camp." No mention is made of any interview with the chief, who was none other than Mahadaji Scindia. But William Daniell must have taken a sketch of him, for an engraving of such a portrait is to be found opposite page 212 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1834. The following account is given of the circumstances under which the drawing was made but it will be noticed that the place is not indicated:—

"The portrait of the Mahratta Chief which embellishes this volume is that of the celebrated Mahadaji Scindia, predecessor to the reigning Prince (his grandnephew and adopted son Daulat Rao). Mr. Daniell, shortly after his arrival in India, and not long before the death of the old warrior [which took place suddenly in 1794 at Wanowri near Poona] had the honour of an interview, during which he was also honoured with an oriental embrace. Availing himself of the opportunity, he made an admirable likeness of this remarkable man."

The story attaching to Zoffany's portrait of Mahadaji Scindia is well known, from the passage in Sir James Mackintosh's *Journal* of his visit to Poona in 1805:—

Near the monument which is being erected to the memory of the Mahdajee Scindia is a sorry hut where the ashes of this powerful Chieftain were deposited for a time, and there they may long lie undisturbed. It is a small pagoda where in the usual place of the principal deity, is a picture of Sindia by Zoffany, very like that in the Government House at Bombay. Before the picture lights are kept

constantly burning, and offerings daily made by the old servant of the Maharajah whose fidelity rather pleased me (30).

Another portrait by Thomas Wales hangs in the Town Hall at Bombay. Sir Charles Warre Malet, the son-in-law of Wales, was, by orders issued in January, 1785, despatched to Scindia's camp at Muttra to gain his consent to the appointment of a permanent Resident at Poona. The mission left Surat on March 15, 1785, reached Gwalior, by way of Ujjain on May 2, visited Agra, where Malet was lodged in the Taj, and then proceeded to Muttra (31).

According to the chronicler in the *Oriental Annual* (1835, p. 117) Muttra is noted for "an establishment of monkeys, supported by a bequest from Mahdaji Scindia." Thomas Twining (1794) also comments on the monkeys, and observes (p. 213) that all had "blue breeches" and that most of them were "immoderately fat."

Thomas Daniell's diploma picture in the Royal Academy gallery at Burlington House represents "Hindu Temples at Bindrabund" (Brindaban, or Muttra) and a reproduction of it figures as sketch No. 2 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*. These views are expressly stated to have been taken in the year 1789 and 1790. Thomas Daniell also exhibited "The Braman's Gaut at Mutura" at the Royal Academy in 1804, and William Daniell "The Mosque at Mutura built in the reign of the Emperor Aurungzebe" in 1834.

Between Muttra and Delhi, a halt was made at the "Chauter Serai, built by Asuf Khan, brother to the celebrated Noor Jehan"; for an engraving from a drawing by William Daniell will be found opposite page 106 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1835, where also a circumstantial account of the visit is given, though not on the upward journey. The place is now known as Chhata.

Delhi was reached in fourteen days after leaving Agra. The following sketches of Delhi are given in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*: No. 1, Eastern Gate of the Jumma Musjid; No. 3, Cotsea Bhaug (Kudsia Bagh); No. 7, Remains of an ancient building near Firoze Shah's Cotillah; No. 13, part of the Fort built by the Emperor Shere Shah; No. 23, the Jumma Musjid. The third series contains the following: No. 6, Mausoleum of Amir Khusroo; No. 18, a Baolee (open bath) near the old city; No. 19, view near the Mausoleum of the Emperor Humayoon. Sketch No. 24 in the sixth series represents the Cuttub Minar and Nos. 19 and 20 the Observatory of Rajah Jyessingh, now in ruins. Thomas Daniell exhibited two pictures of Delhi at the Royal Academy: "The Western Gate of Feroze Shah's Cotilla, Delhi" in 1807; and "The Entrance to the Palace of the Cotsea Begum at Delhi," in 1816. William Daniell showed "A Mausoleum of a Mahomedan poet built

(30) There is a portrait of Mahadaji Scindia at Government House, Poona which is said to be by Zoffany although it has also been attributed to an artist named Welsh (sic). It was copied by Mr. Cecil Burns for the Victoria Memorial Hall. The suggestion is that the Poona picture is the original and that a replica hangs in the temple. (G. C. Williamson "John Zoffany, R.A." p. 96).

(31) See Malet's Diary: quoted at pp. 485-526 of Forrest's *Selections from Despatches, Mahratta Series*, Vol. I.

of white marble at old Delhi" at the exhibition of 1797: "A caparisoned elephant, scene near Delhi" (now in the Soane Museum) in 1832: and "the Mosque of Sheik Nizam-ad-Deer (*sic*) Aoulea at Delhi" in 1835.

No less than fifteen engravings from sketches of Delhi by William Daniell appear in the *Oriental Annual*: two in the volume for 1834, one in 1835, two in 1836, six in 1837, four in 1838. (32.)

Modern Delhi, or Shahjahanabad, was founded, says Twining (p. 252) by Shah Jehan about 1631, and constructed chiefly with the materials of the old city. The circumference of the walls is stated by him to be about six miles.

The reigning Emperor at the time of the Daniells' visit was Shah Alam, who succeeded to a tinsel throne in 1759 on the death of Alamgir the second, the last real Mogul ruler of the House of Babar. He could not establish his authority in Delhi, which became the alternate prey of Afghans and Mahrattas until 1771 when the Mahrattas restored him to the city of his ancestors. In 1788 a Mahratta garrison permanently occupied the Palace, and Shah Alam remained a prisoner in the hands of Scindia until the British conquest under Lake in 1803 (33). 136-137.

The next halting-place after Delhi was Anopshur (Anupshahr) now in the Bulandshahr district of the United Provinces. In 1773 the combined forces of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the British made Anopshur their rendezvous when opposing the Mahratta invasion of Rohilkund: and from that date the place was garrisoned by British troops until 1806 when they were removed to Meerut. The town was formerly the northern limit of traffic on the Ganges and consequently the seat of a factory of the East India Company. Twining (1794) describes Anopshur as "a military post in the Kingdom of Oudh," and relates an adventure which befell Colonel Robert Stuart, the officer in command of the detachment of Company's troops. The story was told to

(32) *Oriental Annual*: 1834: Title-page. The Kuttub Minor. (Old Delhi): p. 204. The Caparisoned Elephant (scene near Delhi): 1835: p. 92. Mausoleum of Sufter Jung (Delhi): 1836. p. 231 and p. 243. Tombs of Patan Chiefs, old Delhi: 1837: p. 95. Patan Tomb at Tughlakabad, (old Delhi): p. 161. State Prison (Selimgurh) Delhi: p. 175. Mausoleum of Tughlak Shah, Tughlakabad: p. 182. Bridge at old Delhi: p. 208. Shah-jahanabad (modern Delhi): p. 232. North Gate, old Delhi (from Jumma Musjeed): 1838: p. 15. Houses of Patan Chiefs at old Delhi: p. 30. Deserted Mansions at old Delhi: p. 92. Mausoleum of Humayoon at Delhi: p. 206. Mausoleum of Nizamooden Oulea, Delhi. A view of the "Kuttull (*sic*) Minor" to which the artist's name is not appended, is contained in "Twenty-Four views in Hindoostan: drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures painted by Mr. (Thomas) Daniell and Col. (Francis Swain) Ward" (London, January, 1805).

(33) Extract from the Farington Diary, June 29, 1807:—

Account published. In December last died at Delhi aged 78, Shaw Allum, the Emperor of Indostan, commonly called the great Mogul: who was restored by Genl. Lord Lake to his throne, a short time ago, after having his eyes put out and being imprisoned many years by the Mahrattas. He was a lineal descendant of Tamerlane. Ackber Shaw, his second son, succeeds to the Throne.

Akbar the Second "reigned" from 1806 to 1837. His Successor, Bahadur Shah the Second was deposed in 1857 and died at Rangoon in 1862, at the age of 87.

him by Thomas Longcroft (34) an indigo-planter of artistic taste with whom he stayed at his factory at Jellowlee on his way to Futty Ghur after a visit to General de Boigne at Coel (Aligarh). A gang of Pindaris made an unsuccessful attack on the factory, and on their way back passed through Anopshur where they met Colonel Stuart as he was taking his morning ride. They surrounded him and taking him prisoner carried him off with them. Eventually they crossed the Jumna to the north of Delhi where they were not far from the dominions of the Begum Sumroo. That lady ransomed the Colonel for a heavy sum and entertained him hospitably at Sirdhana until an opportunity offered for his safe return to Anopshur.

After nine days, the party which was escorted by a guard of fifty soldiers, arrived at Nujibabad (spelt "Negeibabad" in "Oriental Scenery") which lies at the entrance to the mountains. This town is now the headquarters of the tahsil of that name in the Bijnor district of the United Provinces. It was founded by Najib Khan or Najib-ud-daula, paymaster and for a time Wazir of the Mogul Empire who built a fort at Patthargarh, a mile to the East in 1755. From there he held the northern part of Rohilcund independently of the other Rohilla Chiefs. In 1772 the town was sacked by the Mahrattas and the body of Najib-ud-daula (who had died in 1770) was dug up and burned with many indignities. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, Muhammad Khan, Nawab of Najibabad, the great grandson of Najib-ud-daula, revolted and when the place was recovered in 1858, the palace was destroyed. The Nawab was seized at Rampore and sentenced to transportation for life.

In the letter-press to the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery* "Negeibabad" (of which a view is given in sketch No. 13) is described as "one of the most opulent towns in the fertile district of Rohilcund and subject at this time to Fizula Cawn," the Rohilla Chief, who died in 1794 and with whose life the internal peace of the province came to an end (35).

It is a place of tolerable trade, chiefly carried on with the mountainous country in the vicinity, whence a variety of ores, gums and spices are brought and disposed of in the bazars of which there are several.

This place though still considerable, has not wholly escaped the all-

(34) Thoms Longcroft came out to India with Zoffany about 1783. Some of his pen and ink sketches were presented to the India Office by Miss Louisa Twining, in 1903, among them being the Nawab's Palace at Lucknow, 1790, and the Jumma Masjid at Delhi, 1786. Others are in the British Museum: and four water-colours including one of the Taj are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

(35) Faizulla Khan was the younger son of Ali Muhammad, who obtained the title of Nawab and the greater part of Rohilcund in 1719. When his father died, Faizulla took the Jagir of Rampore Kotara: and was excepted by Warren Hastings from the annexation which followed the first Rohilla War of 1774. At his death in 1793, the throne was usurped by his second son Ghulam Muhammad, against whom the Nawab of Oudh declared war, soliciting the aid of the Government of Calcutta who sent Sir Robert Abercromby with a force. The Rohillas were defeated at Dalmow, but not without considerable loss to the British (600 of whom were killed and wounded, including 14 officers). Rampore, the Capital, was occupied, and Golam Mahomed dethroned. The present Nawab of Rampore is descended from the eldest son of Faizulla Khan.

destroying hand of time. The ruined remains of many edifices of no vulgar style, formerly the dwellings of Rohilla families, discover strong signs of decay. These buildings, however, are Mahomedan, and the city itself is probably not very ancient.

William Daniell exhibited in the Royal Academy of 1828 a picture entitled "View near Nujibabad in Rohilcund: (part of the Himalaya mountains in the distance:" an engraving of which by J. H. Kernot appears at page 62 of the "Oriental Annual" for 1835. In 1812, Thomas Daniell showed "A view near Nigibabad in Rohilcund, the Sewalic mountains appearing in the distance: an Indian on an elephant is endeavouring to cross a small bridge which the elephant refuses until he has examined its strength with his trunk."

While waiting for permission from the Raja of Serinagar (Srinagar) to enter his territory, the party visited Hurdwar which is about 30 miles from Nujibabad. The great object of attraction at this famous place of pilgrimage is the bathing ghat called Hari-ka-chara or Hari-ka-pairi (Vishnu's footprint) with the adjoining temple of Gangadwara. A stone on the wall of the ghat bears the footmark which is the subject of special reverence. Pilgrims struggle to enter the pool and stringent police regulations have been found necessary. In 1818, 430 persons including some sepoys on guard, lost their lives in the press, and the ghat was enlarged. The great assemblage takes place on the first day of the month of Baisakh, the commencement of the Hindu solar year when the sun enters Aries. Every twelfth year the planet Jupiter is in the sign Aquarius (Kumbh) at the time, and the occasion is regarded as one of peculiar sanctity, the fair being called the Kumbh Mela. In 1791 the attendance of pilgrims was estimated at 2½ millions, but this is probably an exaggeration. In 1903 on the bathing day of the Kumbh Mela about 400,000 persons were present. Riots and bloody fights were common in early days. In 1760 the rival mobs of Bairagis (Vaishnava ascetics) and Sannyasis (followers of Siva) had a long battle in which 1,800 Bairagis are said to have been left on the field.

There is no sketch of Hurdwar in "Oriental Scenery": but a picture by William Daniell of "The Principal Ghat at Hurdwar" was engraved for the "Oriental Annual" for 1834 (p. 242). The original was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1835, and is now in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore. Thomas Daniell also painted a picture of "The Sacred Tree of the Hindoos which contains an ancient Temple and Idol of Mahadeva near the Hurdwar." This was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1821.

THE GARHWAL COUNTRY.

Permission having been received from the Rajah, the party entered the mountains by the Coaduwar Ghat. The village which gives its name to the pass is the modern Kotdwara and lies at the foot of the hills on one of the chief trade-routes between Garhwal and the plains of Rohilcund. It is the most important part of which is now known as British Garhwal, and the principal centre of commercial exchange with Tibet. A View of the Ghat is numbered

14 in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery": and the letter press is as follows:

This view represents the principal pass leading from the Rohilla district into the mountainous country of Serinagur. Those romantic and lofty regions never having been explored by European adventurers, any attempt to a stranger to penetrate as far as the city of Serinagur by this route was deemed a hazardous enterprise, if not an absolutely impracticable one. But by a previous arrangement with the Raja of the Capital, the difficulties to it that remained were chiefly occasioned by the surface of the country which, though truly formidable, were calculated to excite rather than discourage the curiosity of those who take delight in observing nature under every variety of aspect: and more especially in situations where she is so seldom seen, except by those who cannot appreciate her beauties.

This view was taken in April 1789, immediately previous to the author's passing into the mountains.

The country in which the Daniells had now penetrated is known in these days as Garhwal and is the western district of the Kumaon division of the United Provinces. The Raja at the time of their visit was Parduman Sah (the "Purdoo Maan Saa" of "Oriental Scenery"). His father Lalat Sah had in 1779 defeated the usurper who was ruling in the adjoining State of Kumaon: and Parduman had for a time held both Garhwal and Kumaon, but had now retired to his own dominions. The Gurkhas conquered Almora (the chief town of Kumaon) in 1789 and made the attack on Garhwal which is mentioned by William Daniell in the letter to his mother: but withdrew owing to trouble with the Chinese in Tibet. (36) It was not until 1803 that they finally overran Garhwal and took Dehra Dun. Parduman Sah fled to the plains and collected a force, but perished near Dehra with most of his Garhwali retainers in 1804. The Gurkha rule were severe, and when the British captured Almora in 1815 they were welcomed by the hillmen. The present Raja of Tehri-Garhwal which lies to the north of British Garhwal, is descended from Sudarshan Sah, the son of Parduman Sah, to whom the State was made over by the British at the close of the campaign. It contains 2,450 villages but no town.

The following description of Raja Parduman Sah is given in the letter-press at the end of the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery":

Raja Purdoo Maan Saa, its present Chief, is a man of high caste, and much beloved by his people: of whom, nevertheless, he is but a feeble protector: like many of the minor sovereigns of our own hemisphere, whose sceptres of straw, the gracious boon, perhaps, of some colossal power, command no respect and impart no authority.

(36) Thomas Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1824 "a view of the Serinagur mountains with the Snowy mountains in the distance taken during the warfare between the Raja of Serinagur and the Dootie Raja in the year 1792" (*sic*). At the Academy of 1800 he had already shown "The Rope bridge at Serinagur, in the Sevalic mountains taken in the year 1789 during the evacuation of the city in consequence of the approach of a large army from Almora."

At closer picture is painted in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835 (p. 26):—

Shortly after our arrival at Serinagur we were introduced to the Rajah. We found him an intelligent person, courteous in his manners, and of easy unembarrassed address. His countenance indicated no particular trait of character, yet was by no means deficient in intelligence. His manners inspired confidence, and he received us with an undissembled welcome. He was frank and free though somewhat effeminate, giving great attention to his dress which was evidently arranged with much care. He wore large gold bangles on his wrists, while his fingers were covered with rings of different shapes and weight, composed of the same metal.

The town of Serinagur (Srinagar) is now in the British district of Garhwal. It is situated on the left bank of the river Alucnindra (Alaknanda) at an elevation of 1706 feet above sea level in latitude $30^{\circ} 13'$ N. and longitude $78^{\circ} 46'$ E. The old town was founded in the 17th century, but was washed away, along with the Saivite temple of Kamaleshwar, by the flood caused by the bursting of the Gohna Lake in 1894: and a new town was built on a higher site. The place owes its importance to the fact that one of the great pilgrim-routes to Kedarnath and Badrinath runs from Hurdwar, up the course of the river Alaknanda by way of Srinagar and Rudraprayag. (37).

Walter Hamilton, in his "Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan and the adjoining countries" (2 Vols. 4to London, 1820) gives the following account of Srinagar:

It occupies nearly the centre of the valley and is in length about three-quarters of a mile but much less in breadth, its form being elliptical. The houses are of stone roughly and irregularly put together with common earth, generally raised to a second floor, and all covered with slates. They are so crowded together as to leave little more space for the streets than is sufficient for two persons to pass. The house of the former Rajahs is in the middle of the town and is the largest, being raised to a fourth story and built of granite. The ground floors of the houses are used as shops, and the upper storeys for the accommodation of the family. The encroachments of the [river] Alakananda, the earthquake of 1803, and the Goorka invasion, all combined to hasten the decay of the town which when taken possession of by the British in 1815, was in a very ruinous condition. The inhabitants consist chiefly of descendants of emigrants from the low countries, and the leading persons are the agents of the banking-houses at Nujibabad and the Doab who are employed in the sale and exchange of merchandise and coins. Formerly these persons

(37) Daniell in *Oriental Scenery* (4th series) says that "Serinagur is in latitude 31° deg. N. longitude 78° deg. W." and is distant from Cape Comorin about 2,500 miles." He does not add (and probably did not know) that the priests at the shrines of Kedarnath and Badrinath are Nambedri Brahmins, from far-off Malabar.



THE ROPE BRIDGE AT SERINAGUR.

By WILLIAM DANIELL, R.A.

(From the "Oriental Annual" for 1838).

resided here only eight months in the year, quitting the hills and returning to their homes at the commencement of the rainy season.

Of the inhabitants we get the following account in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835: (p. 28):

The inhabitants of Serinagur appeared to be a mixed race, exhibiting in their features the blended lineaments of Highlander, Lowlander, Patan, Tartar, Chinese, and Hindoo: and often showing the especial peculiarities of these several races. Their complexions are swarthy, though in a slight degree, and they have very little beard: yet when they possess more than the usual superfluity, it is a good deal prized by them. They are on the whole a mild inoffensive race, and though not deficient in courage to make resistance when attacked, they have displayed very little ingenuity in devising the most effectual means of defence, considering the advantages which their mountains afford them.

It is noticeable that no mention is made in the letter to the rope-bridge below Srinagar of which a representation is given in sketch No. 23 of the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery" and which forms also the subject of an engraving by William Daniell in the "Oriental Annual" for 1838 (p. 213). There are long accounts of the bridge in both volumes. In "Oriental Scenery" we are told that the bridge is 240 feet in length, and "so simple" in contrivance "that it may be soon erected and soon removed."

On each side of the river two strong and lofty poles are fixed in the ground, and kept together with transverse pieces at their upper ends, over which large ropes, made fast to the rocks or ground, are stretched and extended from side to side. From the bottom of these upright poles are carried other ropes, which are drawn towards the upper ones by a lacing of cords, while flat pieces of bamboo are so fastened to the lower cords as to form a tolerably commodious footway.

The passage in the "Oriental Annual" (1838, p. 213) runs as follows:

The most striking object exhibited to the traveller after he quits Hurdwar is a rope bridge which crosses the river Alakananda at a short distance below Serinagur. The river is crossed by no less than three of these bridges between Serinagur and Hurdwar—at the former place, at Gangoutri, and at Deo Prague (Deo Prayag). Some of these rope-bridges have been erected last year by Mr. C. Shakespear, as will appear from Bishop Heber's Journal. (38).

(38) One crossed a torrent near Benares of a hundred and sixty feet span: and another with a span of 320 feet was constructed over the river Caramnassa in Behar "at the expense of Ramchunder Narain." (Heber). There is a graphic picture of a man "crossing the river Touse" by one of these rope-bridges in James Baillie Fraser's "Views in the Himalaya Mountains" (1820).

There is another account of the rope-bridge in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835 (p. 23) in which full scope is allowed to the writer's love of picturesque detail:

Early in the afternoon we came to a rope-bridge which it was necessary to cross in order to save a circuit of several miles. The bridge consisted simply of two ropes of about an inch and a half in diameter made of twisted creepers, eighteen inches apart, passed through a hoop and secured on either side of the stream by strong bamboos driven firmly into the earth parallel to each other. The passenger places himself between the parallel ropes within the hoop, on the lower rim of which he is seated and holding a rope in either hand pulls himself across. To the hillmen this is a sufficiently easy process and they perform it without the slightest apprehension: but to any one who has never before trusted himself upon such an equivocal machine, over a deep and impetuous torrent at an elevation of from 20 to 100 feet, it is a matter of no ordinary peril. Nothing can be well conceived more appalling than, hanging over the tremendous abyss suspended by two small ropes and a hoop, to cast the eye down upon the hissing flood beneath, tossed and agitated into innumerable whirlpools by the narrowness and asperity of the channel, the whole machine fearfully vibrating and threatening to give way at every impulse of the wind, which frequently whistles over the trembling passenger with most menacing violence.

THE RETURN.

The party returned to the plains, as they had entered the hills, by the Coaduwar (Kotdwara) Ghat, and down the "Koah-nullah," a rocky torrent which figures in sketch 15 of the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery."

A few days' rest must have been taken at Nujibabad: and they then made their way to Lucknow after "a circuitous visit" to a place which is unfortunately left blank in Farington's transcript. What was it? It is suggested that the route taken was, by way of Chandpore, Amroha (Amrooah), Sumbul and Bissowlee to Pillibeat (Pilibhit). All these places were undoubtedly visited by the Daniells, for sketches were taken at each of them. We have an Academy picture by Thomas Daniell in 1807: "Gate of Serai at Chandpore in the Rohilla district": an earlier one in 1799, "Mahomedan Buildings at Bissowlee in Rohilcund": and a third in 1813. "The Eedgah, a place designed for the performance of solemn festivals by the professors of the Mahomedan religion, near Amrooah in the Rohilla district." Of Babar's tomb at Sumbul, there is an engraving of a drawing by William Daniell in the *Oriental Annual* for 1838 (p. 3). Sketch No. 10 in the third series of "Oriental Scenery" represents the "Gate of a Mosque built

by Hafez Ramut at Pillibhit," and William Daniell exhibited a picture on the same subject at the Royal Academy of 1798. (39).

From Pilibhit the party retraced their steps westward and proceeded across country to Futtý Ghur, for we know from the *Calcutta Gazette* that they arrived there in June 1789. Cawnpore would next be reached by river and then the route lay by road eastwards to Lucknow.

Sketch No. 16 of the third series of "Oriental Scenery" represents "The Palace of Nawaub Sujah Dowla at Lucknow taken (in 1790) from the opposite bank of the river Goomty." Part of the palace (the Machhi Bhawan, now demolished) is shown on the left and "the new palace of the present Nawaub Asoph-ul-Dowla is seen along the water's edge extending a considerable way up the river." This is the Inambara of which the following account is given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835 at p. 129.

The Imaum Barrah completed in the year 1784 by Asoph-ul-Dowla is considered inferior only to the edifices erected by the Mahomedan Emperors. The Architecture is loaded though not crowded with ornament. This building contains a single room 167 feet long and broad in proportion. There is one remarkable feature in this structure: no wood has been employed in its erection, it being entirely of brick.

"During the Presidency of Mr. Hastings," we read further, "Lucknow was, perhaps next to Benares, the richest and most populous city of Hindostan."

An original oil-painting of "the Inambara of Asaf-ud-daula" by the younger Daniell was acquired by Lord Curzon of Kedleston for the Victoria Memorial Hall collection: and engravings of the following sketches by the same artist are given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1835: p. 128, The Moorpunkee, Lucknow (the Nabob on the river Goomtee in his moorpunkee or state barge) (40): P. 137, a mausoleum at Lucknow (tomb of a female

(39) Hafiz Rahamat Khan was the Rohilla leader who came into collision with Warren Hastings and was killed in action in 1774. His descendant Khan Bahadur Khan was proclaimed Nawab or Viceroy by the mutinous sepoys after a massacre of Europeans at Bareilly in 1857. Nearly a year elapsed before British authority could be restored. Khan Bahadur escaped into Nepal, but was surrendered by the Nepalese Government in 1860 and hanged at Bareilly. Pilibhit was Hafiz Rahamat's favourite place of residence. Near the town of Bisauli is the tomb of Danda Khan, Hafiz Rahamat's lieutenant, who built a fort here about 1750.

(40) "This boat derives its name from the figure ornamenting the bow which is a peacock: *mour* signifies a peacock and *punkée* wings, indicating the swiftness of its progress: and these boats certainly are remarkable for their speed . . . (They are) extremely long and light in form, and the head rises greatly above the stern which latter terminates in a low point without the slightest ornament. The head projects forward with a slight curve, and is at least ten feet from the surface of the water, ending in the body of a peacock with the wings extended. Near this gay ornament is a position sufficiently spacious to contain 10 or 12 persons. The boat is manned with from 20 to 40 rowers who use short elliptical paddles, with which they propel forward with amazing swiftness, timing their strokes by a measured but not unmusical chant. Near the pavilion is a raised platform upon which a man dances for the amusement of the company, flourishing a chowry over

relative of Asaf-ud-daula); P. 172, View in the garden of the palace at Lucknow. 1838: p. 148. "Elephants fighting" (with the Nawab and his Court as spectators "looking on from the balcony of a bungalo.")

William Daniell concludes his letter to his mother with a characteristic reference to Asaf-ud-daula's reluctance to remunerate the European artists whom he encouraged to practise their profession at Lucknow. Thomas Daniell's unhappy experience in this respect was shared by at least two others. Dr. G. C. Williamson in his book on Zoffany (London 1920) quotes from two letters of Claude Martin which were discovered in the Royal Academy Library. In the second, which is dated March 11, 1789, and written to Ozias Humphry who was then in London, Martin says that Zoffany who had taken his passage for Europe in an Italian ship, the "Grande Duchesse," had not yet been paid one penny for the work he has done for the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, adding that this eastern potentate does not like paying Europeans and if one could see his heart, it would be found "loaded with dark and sinister intentions." Zoffany was eventually paid, having persuaded the Resident to endorse his account against the Nawab and guarantee payment: but Humphry who had painted miniatures of Asaf-ud-daula and his minister, Hasan Raza Khan, never got his money. (41). Zoffany's portraits of these two eminent personages now hang in the India Office. They bear the following inscription on the back of the canvas:

John Zoffany painted this picture at Lucknow A.D. 1784 by order of His Highness the Nabob Vizier Asoph-ul-Dowlah, (or, by desire of Hussain Reza Caun, Nabob Suffraz-ul-Dowlah) who gave it to his servant (or friend) Francis Baladon Thomas.

Thomas was a Surgeon-Major on the Bengal Establishment and Residency Surgeon at Lucknow. He was dismissed the Service in 1785.

Zoffany was in Lucknow at the time of the Daniells' visit, and collaborated with Thomas Daniell in at least one composition. Among the nineteen pictures by Zoffany which were owned by Claude Martin, and were sold by the auctioneer Quieros on December 29, 1801 was "a picture of General Martin's house painted by Daniell and Zoffany."

When the Daniells left Lucknow, their next objective must have been Fyzabad the ancient capital of Oudh, on the Gogra, and the ruined city of Oud (Ajudhia) on the opposite bank of the river. William Daniell exhibited a

"his head. He acts as a sort of fogleman for by his movements the action of the paddles is governed." (*Oriental Annual*, 1835. p. 128)

(41) Humphry apparently insisted upon being paid on his own terms, or not at all. See the following entry in the Farington Diary:

May 7th, 1809.—Humphry has talked to Paine of £10,000 having been offered Him for his claim in India. Paine advised Him to take it on which Humphry flew into a passion and asked Him how he could pretend to judge His affairs.

From an entry in the previous year—June 19, 1808—we learn that Sir John Day, the first Advocate General of Bengal, was another sufferer. In recording his death, Farington writes: "He pined over the loss of £20,000 owing to Him by the Nabob of Oude. His debts the East India Company refused to pay."

"view of Fyzabad" at the Royal Academy of 1795: and sketch No. 3 of the third series of *Oriental Scenery* is the "Gate of the Loll Bhaug at Fyzabad (85 miles east of Lucknow):" As regards Ajudhia we have an Academy picture by Thomas Daniell in 1802: "Ruins, etc. at Oud on the river Ganges" (sic): and an engraving in the *Oriental Annual* for 1838 (p. 3) from a drawing by William Daniell of a "Part of Oud on the river Gogra." (42).

The route then lay to Juanpore (Jaunpur) which is situated on the Gumti at the junction of roads from Allahabad, Fyzabad, Azamgarh, Benares and Mirzapur. A stay of some duration must have been made, for many sketches were taken. The Atoulah mosque, which was built by Ibrahim Shah and completed in 1408, is the "Mosque at Juanpore" represented in a picture by William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1796. Sketch No. 9 in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* bears the same title: and "Interior of a Mosque, Juanpore" is the subject of the frontispiece to the *Oriental Annual* for 1835. Thomas Daniell exhibited an "N. W. view of the Fort at Juanpore" at the Academy in 1798, and a "View near Juanpore" in 1804. In 1836 William Daniell sent to the Academy "Part of the Fortress of Juanpore and the river Goomty" and in 1838 there was shown, posthumously, "A Nautch Girl exhibiting before a Man of Rank; a scene at Juanpore." Finally No. 18 of the "Twenty-Five views of Hindustan," is a sketch by Thomas Daniell of "The Bridge at Juanpore, Bengal."

From Juanpore, the travellers returned to Benares; and undertook, according to the writer in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835, an expedition into Behar.

THE EXCURSION INTO BEHAR.

Ample corroboration, both pictorial and chronological, is to be had of this expedition. The route ran first to Bidzee Gur (Bijaigarh) which lies about 55 miles due south of Benares. There is no sketch in *Oriental Scenery* of this forgotten fortress on the Kaimur hills, which was once the stronghold of Cheyt Singh: but Thomas Daniell exhibited two pictures of Bidzee Gur at the Royal Academy, the first in 1809 and the other in 1811.

From Bidzee Gur (which was also visited by William Hodges after the insurrection at Benares in 1781 and during the siege of the fortress by Major Popham) an excursion must have been made down the course of the Soane to Agouree (Agori Khas) about 15 miles to the westward. Sketch No. 19 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "Hindoo Temples at Agouree on the river Soane": and William Daniell exhibited a picture of "The Fort of Agouree" at the Royal Academy of 1837. The spot appears to be identical with "Hurgowree" or "Hurra Gowree" on the Soane, which is the subject of a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1809 and again at the British Institution in 1812. The title of the picture is thus given in the second instance: "A sacred grove of the Hindoos. Taken near the

(42) William Hodges exhibited a "view of part of the ruins of the city of Owd" at the Royal Academy of 1785.

temple of Hurgowree, on the river Soane in the province of Bahar, East Indies. In this view the Bhurr, or banian tree, a species of fig, is made conspicuous." The description of the Academy picture is as follows: "Hurra Gowree, a place of great sanctity with the Hindoos near Bidzee Gur, a hill fort of the district of Benares."

The route now lay (according to the *Oriental Annual* for 1835, p. 205) from Bidzee Gur across the Eckpouah Ghaut, described by Hodges (*Travels in India*, p. 85) as "a difficult and rocky pass," two miles from the Fort. Descending the hill, on the way to Sasseram a halt was made, and sketches taken, at Chainpur near which, seven miles south-west of Bhabua, is the temple at Mandeswari. This is the oldest Hindu monument in the Shahabad district, and dates from 635 A.D. There are two drawings of it in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* ("Antiquities of India"): representing the exterior (No. 13) and the interior (No. 16). Sketch No. 15 in the same series represents the "Exterior of an Eedgah near Chynpore." This may form part of the Jama Masjid (1668 A.D.) at Chainpur: but the famous Idgah built in the time of Shah Jehan 1633 A.D.) is at Sasseram, and is near Sher Shah's tomb. Thomas Daniell exhibited a "View in the Cheynpore district" at the Royal Academy of 1806: and at the Academy of 1816 a picture with the following peculiar and cumbrous title: "An Indian with his cattle, etc. having ascended in safety a dangerous pass in the mountains returns thanks to Ganesa the guardian of the Gauts: a scene in the Chrympore (sic) district." The "mountains" are the Kaimur hills, which form the southern boundary of the Shahabad district, and vary in elevation from 1,000 feet above sea level to 1,490 feet (at Rohtasgarh). "Rising abruptly from the plains their sides present sheer precipices" and "the escarpments are everywhere lofty and bold" (Shahabad District Gazetteer, p. 2). The waterfall of "Dhuah Koondee in the neighbourhood of Sasseram," which supplies the subject for sketch No. 11 in the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*, is in this hilly region. "After a clear drop of two to six hundred feet, the water plashes into a deep pool, on leaving which it runs along a channel obstructed through several miles of its course by huge masses of rock."

According to the account given of the up-river journey in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 122) a visit was paid on that occasion "after passing Buxar fort" to Sasseram, which is about thirty miles distant. A second visit was now paid (*O. A.* 1835 p. 206) and we are told that "in the neighbourhood of Sasseram, where we halted a day, we found many fine subjects for the pencil." None of the sketches taken at Sasseram itself are reproduced in *Oriental Scenery*. But Thomas Daniell exhibited the "Mausoleum of Sher Shah" at the Royal Academy of 1810, and there is an engraving in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 124) of a drawing by William Daniell of the tomb. At the Academy of 1811 Thomas Daniell exhibited the "Ruins of the Nourutun—part of the Palace at Sassaram": and one of William Daniell's Academy pictures in 1804 was "an Imaumbarrah or mausoleum of a Mahomedan high priest at Sassaram." This is probably the Sasaram Khankah, or religious

endowment, which consists of a mosque and a number of tombs. It was founded by Sheikh Kabir Darwesh about 1717 A.D.

From Sassaram excursions were made to Shere Gur (Shergarh) a ruined hill-fort, twenty miles to the south-west, founded by the Emperor Shere Shah, after his capture of Rohtasgarh in 1539 A.D. Thomas Daniell showed two "Views near Shere Gur" at the Academy, the first in 1801 and the second in 1823. Rohtasgarh which was also visited was a favourite subject with both the Daniells. It supplied the younger with the material for three Academy pictures: "Ruins of Part of the Palace," 1799. "A scene at Rotas Gur," 1832: "Part of the Fort at Rotas Gur," 1837. In the first series of *Oriental Scenery* (views taken in 1789 and 1790) are no less than four sketches: No. 1, "Raje Gaut, the principal road up to Rotas Gur": No. 2, "ancient Temple in the fort of Rotas": and No. 20, "Part of Rotas Gur." "Ruins in Rotas Gur" are also represented in sketch No. 2 of the third series: and the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (p. 210) has an engraving from a drawing by William Daniell of the "Kutwhuttea Gate, Rotas Gur." This is the Kathautiya gate, at the narrow neck joining Rohtas to the table land. The ascent from Akbarpur is over dry hills of limestone, covered with brushwood, to a crest on which are the first defences: and thence up a sandstone cliff, cut in places into rough steps, which lead from ledge to ledge, guarded by walls and a solid masonry arch.

Retracing their steps the travellers next crossed the Soane at Dehri and proceeded to Muddunpore (Madanpur) now a police outpost in the Gaya district on the Grand Trunk Road between Sherghati and Aurangabad. Mention is made in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 of the visit to this place, and an engraving of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Hindoo Temple at Muddunpore" is given opposite to p. 222. So also sketch No. 15 of the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* ("Antiquities of India") published in 1799 and stated to consist of views "taken in 1790 and 1793" presents the "interior of a temple near Muddunpore," whose "situation is so reclusé that it might have been expected the Hindoos here would have escaped the insolence of Mahomedan usurpation, but it happened otherwise." The temple in question is at Umga or Munga, a village situated eight miles east of Deo and close to Madanpur. A modern chronicles records: "It is an ancient stone temple picturesquely situated on the western slope of the hill and overlooking the country for many miles. The height of the temple is about 60 feet and it is built entirely of square granite blocks without cement. A remarkable feature is the presence of short Arabic inscriptions over the entrance doorway engraved by the Muhammadans who once used the shrine as a mosque." (O'Malley, *Gaya Gazetteer*, 1906, p. 240). At Deo, six miles south-east of Aurangabad, is another temple dedicated to the Sun (Suraj Mandir) of which two sketches (No. 5 and No. 6) are given in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery*. These represent the exterior and the interior of the temple respectively. According to Daniell, the shrine is "dedicated to Seeva."

From Madanpur and Deo the road led to Gaya. Sketch No. 15 of the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents the "sacred Tree at Gyah" and sketch No. 13 of the third series is "a view of Gyah." The "Bode Gyah" temple figures opposite page 232 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1835.

Boat was taken at Patna: and some sort of stay must have been made on the downward journey at Bhagalpur, for William Daniell's letter to his mother is written from that place on July 30, 1790. On the voyage back to Calcutta, a halt was called to visit the ruins of Gour, now in Malda district. Sketch No. 4 of the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "Ruins at the ancient city of Gour, formerly on the banks of the Ganges": and there is another sketch (No. 23) in the sixth series: "a Minor at Gour." Thomas Daniell's last Academy picture (1828) was "The Gate of the Cutwal in the Fort of the ancient city of Gour on the river Ganges, Bengal": and there is an engraving in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (p. 244) of a drawing of the same subject by William Daniell: "The Kutwallie Gate, Gour." In the Davis portfolio in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection is also a sketch of "Gaur" (No. 7.)

LATER TRAVELS.

It would seem, from two of the illustrations to "A Picturesque Voyage of India by way of China" (published in London in 1810) that on their return to Calcutta, a trip was made to the Sunderbunds. The two sketches in question represent "Cucrahuttee" and "Gangwaughcolly" (Geonkhali), the former being an obscure village to the south-east of the latter: and graphic descriptions are given of jungle scenery. We have also 'A scene in the Sunderbunds' exhibited by William Daniell at the Academy in 1835: and "The Bore rushing up the Hoogly" shown at the Academy in 1836 and engraved for the *Oriental Annual* of 1838 (p. 234).

Uncle and nephew must have gone across to Western India about this period, (probably by sea) for three views of Bombay by William Daniell are to be seen in Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, and reproductions of them are given in Mr. Douglas Dewar's "Bygone Days in India." These are: 1. View of Bombay about 1790, seen from Cumballa Hill; 2 View of Bombay about 1790, seen from the Harbour; and 3. A picture of Bombay as it was about 1790. There are also two aquatint engravings by William Daniell to be found in Captain R. M. Grindlay's "Scenery, Costumes, and Architecture chiefly on the western side of India," published in 1826, and again in an enlarged format in 1830. One is of Dowlutabad, the fortress of Deogiri, in the Aurangabad district, in the Deccan, and the other is a morning view from Callian (Kalyan near Bombay). Both are however stated to be drawn by Daniell from sketches taken by Grindlay.

The fifth and sixth series of *Oriental Scenery* published in 1804 and 1799, and otherwise known as "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountain of Ellora, near Aurungabad in the Decan" and "Antiquities of India," relate, likewise, to Western India. The first named consists of "Twenty-Four Views engraved from the drawings of James Wales by and under the direction of

Thomas Daniell." It is dedicated to Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart, "late the British Resident at Poonah." Wales was the father-in-law of Malet and died at Thana in November, 1795 while engaged on a series of sketches of the Elephanta sculptures (43).

It was from sketches by Wales that Thomas Daniell obtained the material for his well-known picture of "Sir C. W. Malet, Bart, the British Resident at Poonah in the year 1790 concluding a treaty in the Darbar with Souae Madarow (Sawai Madho Rao) the peshwah or prince of the Mahratta Empire." This was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1805. It now hangs in the entrance hall of Government House, Ganeshkhind, and has been described as unrivalled in Oriental grouping, character and costume (44). A mezzotint by Charles Turner may be seen in the Political Secretary's Room at the India Office.

The date 1790 occurs also in the sixth series of *Oriental Scenery*, the views in which are "engraved from the drawings of Thomas Daniell, R.A., and F.S.A., by Himself and William Daniell" and stated to have been "taken in the year 1790 and 1793." Six of these sketches relate to excavations on the island of Salsette, and Elephanta: and in the letter-press to sketch No. 7 ("The entrance to the Elephanta cave") the following definite statement is made: "According to the measurement of Mr. William Daniell, the author's nephew, who accompanied him on all his excursions in India, its dimensions are 130 feet in length, 110 in breadth, 16 in height."

An excursion to Muscat in Arabia seems to have been undertaken about this time also, for both Thomas and William Daniell exhibited several pictures of that place at the Royal Academy (45).

(43) The portraits of Nana Farnavis and Mahadaji Scindia which hang in the Bombay Town Hall, are painted by Wales: and the Royal Asiatic Society possesses a picture by him representing the Peshwa (Madho Rao the Second) and Nana Farnavis, with two attendants. This picture was presented to the Society in 1854 by the wife of General Robinson, and must have been "looted," for it had been taken off the stretcher and folded in four, with the result that the right eye of the Peshwa has had to be repainted.

(44) Some of the sketches made by Wales for this picture must have been acquired by Sir Charles Malet, who was appointed Resident at Poona in 1785 and was created a baronet in 1791 in recognition of his success in negotiating the treaty which was between the Company, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, against Tippoo Sultan. In March 1920, Sir Harry Malet, the present baronet, offered for sale at Sotheby's a series of seven sketches representing (as the inscriptions upon them show), "Mahadowjee Scindia," "Bhyroo Pundit," translator to the Resident, "Souae Madara Peshwa" (Sawai Madho Rao Peshwa), "Noor Al Deen Hussein Khan," probably the Peshwa's munshi, "Ballajee Pundit Nanna Furnavese," Daniel Seton, a Bombay civilian who became chief at Surat in 1800 and died there in 1803 (in Mahomedan dress, and bearing an uncanny resemblance to the familiar portrait of the Abbé Dubois) and, lastly, "Beebee Ambar Koorer Amabilis Fidelis," a Rajput lady, companion of Sir Charles Malet in India. The set is now the property of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., of the Madras Civil Service.

(45) Thomas Daniell: The Harbour of Muscat in Arabia, 1806: The Fort of Mutura near Muscat, 1807: The Entrance from the eastward of the Harbour of Muscat in Arabia, 1814. William Daniell: Muscat in the Persian Gulph, 1831: General View of the Harbour of Muscat on the coast of Omar, Arabia, in the Persian Gulph, 1835. The two latter pictures are reproduced in the *Oriental Annual* for 1836 (frontispiece and on page 191).

Later on, they must have found their way to Southern India. It is clear, as has already been pointed out, from references in *Oriental Scenery* that they were in the Madras Presidency from June 1792, to the beginning of 1793, when they must have embarked for China. William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy several pictures which were based upon sketches taken either at the Company's factory at Canton, or on the way thither (46). His uncle confined himself to Indian subjects, with the exception of four pictures of Sezincote, the seat in Gloucestershire of Sir Charles Cockerell, an Anglo-Indian baronet, which he showed at the Academy of 1819.

The more we reflect upon the conditions of travel in the East at the close of the eighteenth century, the more we are bound to be struck by the courage and endurance displayed by Thomas Daniell and his young nephew who was a boy of fourteen when he left England with his uncle in 1783. It is the fashion in some quarters to decry their ability as artists and to describe their election in the Royal Academy as "an honour which will always remain one of the enigmas of the early days of the Institution" (Hodgson and Eaton: "The Royal Academy and its Members," p. 88). But to all those who know India their drawings of Indian scenes will always appeal, not only for their charm, but also for the fidelity of their delineation.

H. E. A. COTTON.

(46) View of the Straits of Sunda taken from Anjere Point in the Island of Java, 1813: The "Hythe" East Indiaman off Anjere Point, Island of Java, in the Straits of Sunda, 1823 (a picture evidently painted for Mr. Stewart Marjoribanks, the owner of the ship, which sailed for China from the Downs on April 21, 1821, and returned to moorings on April 22, 1823): The Watering-place at Anjere Point in the Island of Java: the homeward bound China fleet in 1793 at anchor in the Straits of Sunda under the command of Sir Erasmus Gore in the "Lion" man of war, 1836. Of China itself we have the following Academy pictures by William Daniell: 1806 and 1808. The European Factories at Canton in China (of one of these, a picture executed in the minutest detail, a charming aquatint reproduction is given in the "Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China"); 1810: Ten sketches of the process of cultivating Tea in China and preparing leaves for exportation. William Daniell also exhibited the two following pictures at the British Institution: A "view in the Straits of Sunda, the island of Cracatoa in the distance" in 1815, probably a replica of the Academy picture of 1813: and "A Chinese lady of the province of Ningpo" in 1836.

Appendix.

A.—SUGGESTED ITINERARY OF THE DANIELLS IN BENGAL AND UPPER INDIA, 1788—1790.

REFERENCES :—

- T. D., R. A.—Picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy.
 W. D., R. A.—Picture exhibited by William Daniell at the Royal Academy.
 B. I.—Picture exhibited at the British Institution.
 O. S.—*Oriental Scenery*: First Series, views taken in the years 1789 and 1790 :
 Fourth Series, views taken in 1789 : Sixth Series, views taken
 in 1790.
 O. A.—*Oriental Annual*, 1834-38 : Engravings from drawings by William
 Daniell.
 P. V.—*Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China* : 1810.
 25 Views—"Twenty-five Views of Hindustan drawn by W. Orme from the
 original pictures by Mr. (Thomas) Daniell and Colonel
 (Francis Swain) Ward", 1805.
 S. D.—Portfolio of sketches by Samuel Davis in the Victoria Memorial Hall
 collection.

UP.

Left Calcutta : end of September,
 1788.

Bandel. (O.S. iv. 2).

Chinsurah. ("Dutch Budjeran's on
 the river Ganges" : T.D.R.A.
 1799.)

Rajmehal : (T.D.R.A. 1822 : W.D.
 R.A. 1822 : O.S. iii. 24 : O.A.
 1834, p. 93 : S.D.)

Sicra Gulley, Sakrigali. (O.S. iv. 9.)

Mootee Jerna Falls. (25 views 19 :
 S.D.)

Colgong. ("The Banyan Tree at
 Colgong" T.D.B.I. 1847 : O.A.
 1834 : p. 105.)

Pattergotta, Patharghatta (T.D.R.A.
 1804).

Boglipore, Bhaugulpur.

Behangerec : "Fakcer's Rock".
 (O.S. vi. 9, 10 : S.D.)

Sultangunge (T.D.R.A. 1806).

Monghyr (Seetacoond).

Peer Pahar, (T.D.R.A. 1813).

Patna. (O.S. i. 10.)

Moneah, Maner. (O.S. i. 12).

Buxar.

Sasseram (T.D.R.A. 1810, 1811 :
 W.D.R.A. 1832 : O.A. 1834,
 p. 124).

(Return to Buxar).

UP: (continued).

Ghazepore. (T.D.R.A. 4820, 1824 W.D.R.A. 1800).
 Rangur or Rampoor: village near Benares. (O.S. iv. 10).
 Benares. (T.D.R.A. 1797, 1799, 1802, 1806, 1815: W.D.R.A. 1802: O.S. i. 16, O.A. 1834, pp. 128, 142 O.A. 1835 p. 190).
 Ramnugger. (O.S. i. 14: iii. 20)
 Chunar. (T.D.R.A. 1827: O.S. i. 24, iii. 23: O.A. 1838, p. 197).
 Suttisgarh, Saktisgarh, Falls. (S.D.)
 Mirzapore: ("Banyan Tree", O.A. 1834, p. 184, W.D.R.A. 1833).
 Allahabad. (O.S. i. 6, 8, 22: iii. 4, 8. O.A. 1838, p. 119).
 Currah, Korah. (O.S. i. 21: iii. 1, 21: T.D.R.A. 1801).
 Manickpore. (W.D.R.A. 1832).
 Dalnow: (25 views, 15).
 Cawnpore.
 Cannoge, Kanauj. (O.S. iii. 7: iv. 12).
 Fatty Ghur.
 Firozabad. ("Hirkarrah camel: W.D.R.A. 1832: O.A. 1834, p. 204).
 Agra: (T.D.R.A. 1808: W.D.R.A. 1799, 1829, 1835: O.S. i. 18. O.A. 1834, p. 194).
 Futtypore Sicree. (W.D.R.A. 1833: O.A. 1838: frontisp. and p. 119).
 Secundra: (O.S. i. 9).
 Mutura, Muttra: Bindrabund. Brindaban: (T.D.R.A. 1797, 1804, 1807: W.D.R.A. 1834: O.S. i. 2: O.A. 1835, p. 118).
 Chauter Sera.: (O.A. 1835, p. 106).
 Delhi: (T.D.R.A. 1806, 1807, 1816: W.D.R.A. 1797, 1832, 1835: O.S. i. 1, 7, 11, 23 iii. 6, 18,

19: vi. 19, 20, 21: O.A. 1834, title-p.: 1835, p. 92: 1836, pp. 231, 243: 1837, pp. 161, 175, 182, 208, 212: 1838, pp. 15, 30, 92, 206. 25 views, 11).

Anopsheer, Anupshahr.

Nujibabad. (T.D.R.A. 1812: W.D.R.A. 1828: O.A. 1835, p. 62. O.S. iv. 13).

Hurdwar. (T.D.R.A. 1821: W.D.R.A. 1835: O.A. 1834, p. 245). (Return Nujibabad).

Enter Mountains (April, 1789).

Road to Serinagur (O.S. iv. 14 to 22. T.D.R.A. 1824).

Serinagur. (O.S. iv. 23, 24: O.A. 1838, p. 213: T.D.R.A. 1800)

DOWN.

Nujibabad.

Chandpore: (T.D.R.A. 1807).

Anrooah, Amroha (T.D.R.A. 1813).

Sambul, Sambhal (O.A. 1838, p. 2).

Bissowlee (T.D.R.A. 1799).

Pillibcat. (W.D.R.A. 1798: O.S. iii. 10).

Fatty Ghur. (June, 1789).

Cawnpore.

Lucknow. (W.D.R.A. 1801, 1834: O.S. iii. 5, 16, 17, O.A. 1835, pp. 128, 138, 172).

Fyzabad. (W.D.R.A. 1795: O.S. iii. 3).

Oud, Ajudhia. (T.D.R.A. 1802: O.A. 1838, p. 123).

Juanpore, Jaunpur: (T.D.R.A. 1798, 1804: W.D.R.A. 1836, 1838: O.S. iii. 9: O.A. 1835 frontisp. O.A. 1838, p. 179: 25 views 18).

Benares.

Bidzee Gur, Bijaigarh. (T.D.R.A. 1802, 1811. O.A. 1834, p. 176).

DOWN: (continued).

Agouree, Hurgowree. (O.S. i. 19:
T.D.R.A. 1809: W.D.R.A.
1837).

Cheynpore, Chainpur: (T.D.R.A.
1801, 1816: O.S. vi. 13, 15, 22)

Sasseram.

Dhuah Koonde Falls. (O.S. iv. 11).

Shere Gur, Shergarh. (T.D.R.A.
1801, 1823).

Rotas Gur, Rohtasgarh. (W.D.R.A.
1799, 1832, 1837: O.S. i. 5, 11,
20, O.S. iii. 2: O.A. 1835, p.
210.)

(Return Sasseram: cross Soane).

Muddunpore. (O.S. vi. 16. O.A.
1835, p. 222).

Deo. (O.S. vi. 5, 6).

Gyah. (O.S. i. 15: iii. 15).

Bode Gyah (O.A. 1835. p. 232).

Patna.

Bhagalpur: (July, 1790).

Rajemchal.

Gour: (O.S. i. 4: vi. 23: T.D.R.A.
1828: O.A. 1835, p. 244: S.D.).

Calcutta. (O.A. 1835, p. 254 P.V.)
(Visit to Sunderbunds).

"Bore rushing up the Hoogly"
(W.D.R.A. 1836: O.A. 1838:
p. 234).

Cuzrahuttee (P.V.)

Gangwaugheollee, Geor-khali (P.V.)

Scene in the Sunderbunds (W.D.
R.A. 1835).

[The sketch map illustrating the journey, which faces page 45, has been prepared by Mr. F. C. Scallan, of the Surveyor General's office, an old and valued member of the Society. Mr. Scallan writes: "Last year (1922) I attempted to follow the 'pilgrim route' to Badrinath and Kedarnath from Hardwar, but, finding transport difficult, went up by way of Najibabad and Kotdwara to Srinagar in Garhwal—Daniell's 'Serinagur'." A photograph of modern Srinagar and of the valley of the Alakananda; taken by Mr. Scallan on September 24, 1922, from the dak bungalow on the hill, is reproduced opposite page 64.]

B.—THE JOURNEY AS DESCRIBED IN "ORIENTAL SCENERY."

THE fourth series of "Oriental Scenery," as already mentioned, contains twelve sketches of the Garhwal country. Its title page is as follows:—

"Twenty-four Landscapes (The Fourth Series): Views in Hindoostan: drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell. London, May, 1807."

The accompanying letter-press is prefaced by the following introduction :

The views contained in the present series commence with Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of Hindoostan; and thence, taken from different points, extending northwards as far as the mountains of Serinagur. Of the present series a large portion consists of views taken from the scenery of the north: an arrangement occasioned not only by the grandeur and picturesque merits of that elevated region, but the consideration of its novelty: for when the author visited the mountains of Serinagur, those parts had never been explored by any European traveller: and, owing either to the difficulties of access, or impediments arising from the political circumstances of the country, other information in the province of art is not likely to be received from that remote part of the northern extremity of India.

The drawings from which these views are engraved were taken in the months of July and August 1792 (sic.) (47).

The following descriptions are attached to each of the twelve drawings :

13. *View at Nigeibabad, near the Coaduwar Gaut.*

Nigeibabad is one of the most opulent towns in the fertile district of Rohilkund, and subject at this time to Fizula Cawn. It is a place of tolerable trade, chiefly carried on with the mountainous country in its vicinity, whence a variety of ores, gums, and spices are brought and disposed of in the bazars, of which there are several.

This place though still considerable, has not wholly escaped the all destroying hand of time. The ruined remains of many edifices of no vulgar style, formerly the dwellings of Rohilla families, discover strong signs of decay. These buildings however are Mahommedan and the city itself is probably not very ancient.

14. *Coaduwar Gaut.*

This view represents the principal pass leading from the Rohilla district into the interior of the mountainous country of Serinagur. Those romantic and lofty regions never having been explored by European adventurers, any attempt at a stranger to penetrate as far as the city of Serinagur by this route was deemed a hazardous enterprise, if not an absolutely impracticable one.

(47) See sketch No. 14, where the correct date is given of the journey into Garhwal.

But by a previous arrangement with the Rajah of that capital, the difficulties to it that remained were chiefly occasioned by the surface of the country which, though truly formidable, were calculated to excite rather than discourage the curiosity of those who take delight in observing nature under every variety of aspect : and more especially in situations where she is so seldom seen, except by those who cannot appreciate her beauties.

This view was taken in April, 1789, immediately previous to the author's passing into the mountains.

15. *View in the Koah Nullah.*

The Koah Nullah is a mountain stream that in the season of rain must be a most furious torrent, but in the month of April was a delightful rivulet, that, sparkling in the sun, gave animation and beauty to the rude scenes through which it pursued its course.

The road here (if such it may be called which, having no trace upon the surface, must continually be hunted for) presents all the difficulties and impediments that can be imagined in such situations. Sometimes blocked up by the violence of periodical floods, it is continued by the trunks of trees thrown from rock to rock, or carried up the steep sides of large fragments of the fallen cliffs, by means of twisted branches, that being fastened to the surface, provide a mode of clambering, which, though practicable, was neither safe nor commodious to travellers incumbered with baggage.

But paths like these, little frequented, where public attention has never been exerted to improve the means of communication, are generally the result of accident, and in the most difficult part are effected merely by the slight expedients of individuals, whom necessity compels to make their way through such passages.

16. *Jugcanor, in the mountains of Serinagor.*

In this view also the Koah Nullah makes its appearance : on the banks of which, raised above the reach of casual floods, stands the pleasant village of Jugcanor. It is a small irregular place : the zemindar, or chief landholder of the neighbourhood, like the village squires of other countries, is lodged more sumptuously than his inferiors : his mansion is tolerably built of stone, covered with slates, and consist of two stories, the upper one accommodating the chief and his family, the lower affording shelter to his cattle.

The husbandmen were here employed in reaping their corn, which was an abundant crop of very excellent wheat : a grain preferred by the mountaineers to rice : although their wheat was despised by the rice-eaters of Bengal : who chiefly composed the author's party of attendants, during his mountainous excursion. These lowlanders gave also another example of the force of prejudice in their great aversion to the beautiful transparent water every where flowing through the hilly country : their stagnant reservoirs, and even the turbid waters of the Hooghly at Calcutta, appeared to them much more inviting.

17. *View near Duramundi, in the mountains of Serinagar.*

Duramundi is a village further advanced into the mountains, about ten miles from Jugeoner, and two or three short of Dusa. Here the mountainous ranges are considerably enlarged, and the scenery consequently improves in grandeur. An example, slightly indicated, occurs in this view of the practice of cubitating the sides of the hills, in successive ledges, so common in China. The figures that are introduced represent the Highland merchants on their way from the plains where they have been bartering the produce of their hills for salt, copper vessels, linen and other wares, which they convey not in packs, like our pedestrian traders, but in baskets closely fitted and secured to their backs; relieving themselves occasionally from the incumbent weight by the application of a short staff, carried by each traveller for the purpose, to the bottom of the basket, while he takes his standing rest. In this manner these indefatigable creatures, that seem no larger than ants, compared with the stupendous heights they have to traverse, pursue their laborious journey, with a constancy peculiar to the hardy tenants of the hills.

18. *Near Dusa, in the mountains of Serinagar.*

Dusa stands on the banks of the Kosh Nullah, a few miles, it is said, below its source. The forms of the mountains are, from this point, extremely bold, and all around the general effect is majestic. They are richly clothed with wood, and, in many parts, even to their summits; where oak, fir, with many of the forest trees of India, are produced; and the cultivation of grain is carried up their sides to a great height.

In these secluded parts, scarcely affording a single foot of level ground, and where the whole surface, torn into confusion, offers nothing but the perpetual labour of climbing and descending, there is a considerable degree of population; and pleasant villages are scattered about among the hills, often in situations where it might be supposed eagles alone would build their tenements; for they seem accessible only to the fowls of the air, and not to man. But security is a principal source of happiness, and these regions offer few temptations to the ambition and rapacity of those exalted spirits, whose insatiable thirst of glory fills the world with mischief and misery. The peaceful inhabitants of these hills not only enjoy a secure retreat from the perils of polished society, but a luxuriant vegetation supplies them with food, and also with mus and other articles of commerce, with which, by sale or barter, they procure from the distant plains such conveniences as their moderate system of life requires.

19. *Buddell, opposite Bileete, in the mountains of Serinagar.*

The village of Buddell is about 14 miles from Dusa, and separated from it by a very lofty mountainous ridge. It is pleasantly situated on a delicious stream of liquid crystal, called the Rangunga. On the opposite side of that river is the large village of Bileete. It being the time of harvest when this view was taken, and the corn gathered in, the mode of treading out the grain by the feet of cattle, is represented in the foreground: and also the collecting and winnowing it, all which operations are performed in the open air.

20. *View of the Ramgunga.*

This view is taken in the vicinity, and between the villages of Buddell and Bilcate, from a most delightful spot insulated by the Ramgunga, whose clear and active streams communicated both freshness and beauty to the scene. The author would have had much pleasure in embodying the charms of the evening scenery of that enchanting, if not enchanted, island, a task which unhappily is not within the reach of his art, being the result of various concurring circumstances, and of undefinable and evanescent effects, that the pencil cannot trace. The mild temperature of the atmosphere, opposite to the heats of the preceding hours, inflamed by fatigue: the murmurings of the passing streams: the majestic grandeur of the mountains, increased by the visionary effect of the twilight: and to these must be added a dim luminescence, if possible still further out of the reach of imitative art, and that of a myriad swarms of the fire-flies, that seemed to fill the lower regions of the air, and which uniting their numerous rays of phosphoric light, threw into every object, and diffused a magical radiance equal beautiful and surprising: it seemed, in truth, to be a land of romance, and the proper habitation of those fanciful beings, the fairies and genii, that appear so often in the tales. But the delicious sensations produced by causes of such a nature can, by no effect of genius, be re-excited: they must be seen and felt to be completely relished by toil and privation of every kind and, after all, they can be met with, and not sought: for pleasures that delight by surprise, vanish before anticipation.

From the villages of Buddell and Bilcate the road to Serampore crosses the ridge of the mountain that appears in the middle of this view, and leads by a laborious ascent of eight or ten miles, to the village of Nahan: labour which few, perhaps, except those who have cultivated the pleasures of art, can undergo without complaint or relaxation: but the infinite variety with which the artist's eye is every where regaled in those vast and magnificent picturesque, grand and magnificent forms, more than counterbalance the fatigues of his pursuit.

21. *View between Nahan and Tolgee-aman-ida.*

On proceeding from Nahan towards Tolgee-aman-ida, the road still continues to ascend, and from a point of great elevation this view was taken. The eye is here on a level with the tops of the surrounding mountains: the forms of which are more pointed and irregular than those passed before, and resemble the tumultuous agitation of the ocean, roused by a tempest. The general aspect of the whole is dreary and vast: vegetation is scanty: the scattered trees that here and there occur, seem to be embellishments misplaced and inappropriate: although, if trees are admissible, it could certainly be no other than mis-shapen blights such as these. But the circumstance which, from this point of view, chiefly raises our astonishment, is the appearance of a prodigious range of still more distant mountains, proudly rising above all that we have hitherto considered as most grand and magnificent, and which, clothed in a robe of everlasting snow, seem by their ethereal hue to belong to a region elevated into the clouds, and partaking of their nature: having nothing in common with

terrestrial forms. It would be in vain to attempt, by any description, to convey an idea of these sublime effects, which perhaps even the finest art can but faintly imitate. These mountains are supposed to be a branch of the Emodus, or Imaus, of the ancients : and so great is their height, they are sometimes seen in the province of Behar, and even in Bengal.

22 *Between Taka-ca-munda and Serinagur.*

In these high situations the traveller encounters no villages : he must carry with him the means of subsistence, or perish. *Taka-ca-munda* is a solitary resting place : a plain stone building erected near the barren summit of one of the highest mountains, for the accommodation of benighted wanderers, or to afford an occasional shelter from the storms that frequently vex these cloud-enveloped hills.

The road is continued over the mountainous tract represented in this plate : it then descends to the Bunder Nullah, not far from which the traveller is gratified with a sight of the *Alucnindra*, or *Ganges*, and of the city of *Serinagur*.

23. *The Rope Bridge at Serinagur.*

The city of *Serinagur* appears in the distance, extending along the right bank of the *Alucnindra*, and is partly concealed by the high rock in front of the view. On the author's approach to this place, he was greeted by many young people, who presented him with flowers, and preceded his party on their way to the town, singing and shewing other signs of an hospitable welcome. On entering the city, he found the disposition of the *Rajah* himself no less friendly, but unfortunately he was then preparing to quit his capital, and leave it to the mercy of another *Rajah*, who, in his superior power, had discovered an unanswerable argument for invading the territories of his neighbour. The river here is too rapid to be passed, even by boats, and therefore the bridge of ropes, represented in this plate, offered the only means for the *Rajah* and his people to effect their retreat, which circumstance presented an effecting scene, and a most melancholy example of the wretched state of society under these petty chieftains, whose views of government are little better than those of savages; and with whom all questions of justice and right are, as with duellists, referred to arms; considering, like them, no decisions so correct, and so honourable, as those which have been recorded in letter of blood.

This bridge, which is 240 feet in length, is an ingenious contrivance, and so simple that it may be soon erected and soon removed. On each side of the river two strong and lofty poles are fixed in the ground, and kept together with transverse pieces at their upper ends, over which large ropes, made fast to the rocks or ground, are stretched and extended from side to side. From the bottom of these upright poles are carried other ropes, which are drawn towards the upper ones by a lacing of cords, while flat pieces of bamboo are so fastened to the lower cords as to form a tolerably commodious footway.

On the top of the rock near the bridge are the remains of a building formerly inhabited by a *Faguer*, who is a kind of Indian hermit.

24. *View taken near the city of Serinagur.*

At this place, which is a little above the city, terminated the author's rout through the mountainous district of Serinagur. War, which is the scourge of art and science, rendered the further gratification of his curiosity, however inoffensive its object, in these parts dangerous. The fighting men were preparing for resistance, and the rest of the people, seeking their safety by flight, were removing in a body to the opposite side of the river, by means of their temporary bridge.

The mountains are here embellished with scattered villages, and their sides with regular horizontal stripes of cultivation, producing an effect not so agreeable to the artistical as to the philanthropic observer, who is much less interested by the beauties of form than by such unpicturesque indications of useful industry. The Alucindra which flows through this fertile vale, might, indeed, be termed the Ganges, being its principal branch, although it does not actually receive that appellation till, after passing the mountains, it makes its solemn entrance into the plains of Hindoostan, at the Hurdwar: a place of vast consideration among the Hindoos, regarded by all the faithful as a bathing place of prodigious efficacy, in preparing the way to future bliss, and thence denominated Hurdwar, or the Gates of Heaven.

It seems to be the property of this marvellous river to sanctify whatever it approaches, its islands are therefore devoted to the habitation of priests and pious hermits: its rocky banks display the embellishments of religious art: the cities upon its shores, by their innumerable ghauts or flights of steps, for the convenience of ablution, seem erected chiefly for pious purposes: and the name of Serinagur, or Holy Place, would probably never have been given to that city, had it not been situated on the banks of the Ganges. But time makes no distinction between what is sacred and what profane: this ancient city has felt its effects, and shares in the common fate of Hindoo grandeur, which can now only be seen in its mutilated remains. Raja PURDOO MAAN SAA, its present chief, is a man of high cast, and much beloved by his people: of whom, nevertheless, he is but a feeble protector: like many of the minor sovereigns of our own hemisphere, whose sceptre, of straw, the gracious boon, perhaps, of some colossal power commands respect, and impart no security.

Serinagur is in latitude 31 deg. N. longitude 76 deg. W., and is distant from Cape Comorin, the first view of this series, about 2,500 miles.

C.—UP THE RIVER.

(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1834, PP. 91-254).

WE now took our passage (from Colombo) in a country ship to Calcutta where we stayed only a few days, when we launched upon the broad bosom of the Hooghly. . . . As we proceeded up the river, the current ran so strongly against us, and the wind was so generally unfavourable, that it was nearly a month before we entered the Ganges at Sooty. In our progress we landed and made a short stay at Rajmah'l. . . . In the neighbourhood of this once memorable spot, for it was once the mighty capital of a still mighty province [of Bengal] and a royal residence, there are several remarkable buildings. . . . There was especially a Mausoleum, still in a perfect state of preservation, surmounted by a large dome (48): out of this a vigorous peepul tree grew and nearly overshadowed the whole building. [Here follows a description of a *Suttee*.] . . . As we proceeded up the river from Rajmah'l, the Colgong hills were exceedingly beautiful. . . . The current was unusually strong for some time after we left our last halting place, and the stream so tortuous, that we had no little difficulty in tracking round the curvature which the channel here presents. Our progress being very slow, we had a full opportunity of observing how numerous were the alligators with which the waters of this sacred stream abound. . . . An immense animal was killed by the tindal of our budgerow basking upon a bank, upon which the boat struck almost immediately after. It measured fifteen and a half feet in length. A considerable time elapsed before we got our budgerow off the bank. The budgerow is a large, unwieldy, flat-bottomed boat with eighteen oars, more or less, and a lofty poop, covering nearly three-fourths of its entire length, under which are two spacious cabins, with venetian blinds, at once to exclude the sun and admit the air. Every night we moored beneath the shelter of some convenient bank, and got under weigh again in the morning. Whenever we landed above Rajmah'l we found those religious devotees, so well known in India under the name of Gossains, to be extremely numerous. . . . We were induced to land and visit the waterfall of Mooteejerna, but it did not at all realise our expectations, falling far short of what we had seen in the southern extremity of the Peninsula. . . .

On our approach to Colgong, whither we proceeded on foot, leaving our budgerow to track up the river, intending to join her at a stated spot, we were hospitably entertained with new bread and delicious fresh butter, which was sent to us by an English resident. We had walked several miles under a hot sun, and were a good deal fatigued, so that this fare, simple as it was, inspired us with fresh vigour to pursue our walk. On entering the nullah at Bauglepore, we saw an immense number of alligators in the sacred tank. . . . We now proceeded to the spot indicated as the place of meeting when we left

(48) An engraving, by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of a Mausoleum at Rajmah'l on the river bank (showing the peepul tree) is given opposite p. 93.

our boat; but when we reached it the budgerow had not arrived. It turned out that she had sprung her main mast and in spite of all the efforts of her crew it went by the board. The consequence was that we were obliged to resume our walk for above three miles, ankle-deep through burning sand, before we could meet with a boat to take us to the budgerow. At a convenient place we put in to refit, and having repaired her masts and rigging which was a matter of rather tardy accomplishment, we continued our progress up the river. We were plentifully supplied with all necessaries by a little cook-boat which sailed with us. . . . During the morning we witnessed an exceedingly agreeable sight of one hundred boats, of all shapes and sizes peculiar to the country, making their rapid way down the river from Patna to Calcutta. . . . They did not pass us by in silence; the regular cadence of the rowers' song as they kept time to the measured dash of their oars, and the buzz of voices with which it was constantly mingled, gave some variety to the chants of our own native attendants and of our boat's crew. . . . As we advanced, we found the current more rapid, running strongly against us, and the course of the river occasionally obstructed by large banks of sand. Our dandies were frequently up to their shoulders in water, into which they plunged in defiance of the alligators. . . . At this part of our progress our attention was arrested by a very curious novelty. From the continual wearing away of the bank, the roots of a large banyan tree were completely denuded to the very surface of the water. . . . Our budgerow was dragged round the little cape which the stately banyan here formed on the bank, and the different twistings of the roots made so many resting places on which our dandies supported themselves while they pulled the boat against the current (49).

We now sailed with a tolerably fair wind, tracking with the assistance of our eighteen oars, until we reached Patna. . . . We were two days at Patna, having been most hospitably invited by the Nabob to take up our quarters. . . . in a bungalow which his father had erected on the very brink of the river and which Sir George Barlow, when member of Council, had repeatedly occupied. . . . From Patna we passed on to Dinapoor and then to the conflux of the Soane with the Ganges, which is truly a magnificent spectacle. Here we were again obliged to cross the river and to encounter the danger of the high banks, in order to avoid the shallows on the southern side. . . . Both wind and current were now against us, so that the day after we entered within the confluence of the Soane and Ganges we made but very little progress. On the following morning we passed Buxar fort: but were not allowed to sail under it, in consequence of the banks having given way from the frequent striking of boats against them, which had endangered the security of the walls. We were therefore obliged to cross the river where there was fortunately good tracking

(49) An engraving of the scene by G. Hollis from a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., given opposite p. 105 under the title of "Banks of the Ganges."

ground and quiet water (50). After passing Buxar fort, we left the Ganges for a day or two, proceeding to Sasseram, a town of some celebrity about thirty miles south west of Buxar. It is distinguished as the burial place of Shere Shah, an eminent Afghan prince, who expelled (Humayun) the father of the Great Akbar from Hindustan (51). This fine structure is rapidly falling to decay and the beautiful reddish stone of which it is composed is greatly discoloured by age and neglect. We next reached Ghazipoor, where there is a beautiful building called in the language of the country *Chalees Satoon*—the place of forty pillars (52). . . . From Ghazipoor we soon reached Benares the most holy city of Hindoostan. . . . The only Mahomedan building of any note which it contains is the *Musjid*, a large mosque built by the Emperor Aurangzebe. It was erected upon the former site and with the materials of one of the most sacred temples in India, as a monument of the triumph of the crescent over the hosts of the idolator (53). . . . We took up for our abode near the *Shewallah Gaut*, the former residence of Chait Singh. . . . The *Gaut* is situated at the northern extremity of the city, on the very margin of the river (54). . . . It is a handsome building, but by no means splendid, neither is it very capacious. [Here follows a lengthy account of the insurrection at Benares in 1781, and of Cheit Singh's flight to Bidzee Gur.] The fort of Bidzee Gur is situated upon a lofty hill about sixty miles south-west of Benares (55). . . . Cheit Singh upon quitting Bidzee Gur, fled to Panna, the capital of Bundelcund. . . . and the fortress surrendered [to Major Popham] on the 10th of November (1781), within three months after the memorable insurrection at Benares. From Benares we proceeded to Chunar, the fort to which Mr. Hastings retired. . . . in 1781. . . . The place is excessively unhealthy, during certain months in the year, and has been the grave of a great number of Europeans. . . . yet this dreadful spot has been assigned as a station for invalid pensioners. . . .

(50) "The influx of waters at Buxar" says Emma Roberts, "is tremendous." Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., possesses a sepia drawing by William Daniell showing a budgerow in mid-stream off "the Buxar Pagoda" (as noted by the artist in pencil on the top of the sketch). The budgerow as represented resembles a modern house boat but with taller masts, and more space between the boat house and the prow, and provided with a flagstaff and an enormous Union Jack. "Trackers" or towers are pulling the boat from the bank: and are followed by a relay of spare "watermen."

(51) An engraving by F. J. Havell of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of "The Mausoleum of the Emperor Shere Shah" is given opposite p. 123. Sasseram was again visited on the return journey.

(52) The *Chalees Satoon* depicted in sketch No. 6 of the first series of "Oriental Scenery" (views taken in 1789-1790) is not at Ghazipur, but "on the Jumna side of the Fort of Allahabad." It will be observed that no mention whatever is made of Allahabad in this account.

(53) An engraving by G. Hollis of a drawing by W. Daniell of the "Mosque at Benares" is given opposite p. 127.

(54) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of the "Shuwallah Gaut, Benares," is given opposite p. 143.

(55) An engraving by M. J. Starling of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., of "The Hill Fort of Bidzee Gur" is given opposite p. 175.

We had a favourable breeze all the way from Chunar to Cawnpore, but we nevertheless did not reach the latter town without encountering sundry accidents, from which one is never entirely free in a budgerow upon the Ganges. . . Several large boats were in company with us, and we had the selfish satisfaction of perceiving that we were by no means singular in our disasters. . . We passed a beautiful banyan tree at a short distance from Mirzapore (56). . . The approach to Cawnpore is exceedingly picturesque. Here is an immense variety of buildings especially at Currah which may be called the city of tombs. This was once the residence of the Mogul Governor of the district. . . The military station of Cawnpore extends several miles along the banks of the Ganges. Not far off are the ruins of a small pagoda, on the site of an ancient city, Kanouge . . . once so populous and extensive that it is said to have contained thirty thousand shops which sold betel alone, and the circumference of its walls is stated to have been a hundred miles. . .

From Cawnpore we made the best of our way to Futtypore (57), and thence across to Agra, which was raised by Akbar from an inconsiderable village to be the capital of the province. Near Agra is the celebrated Taje Mahal . . . The first sight of the Taje is highly imposing: the edifice is constructed entirely of white marble and standing as it does upon a vast plain under a verical sun, the reflections are so vivid that the shadows projected from the building are extremely faint. I would remark here that no one can form a just idea of an oriental landscape or of the peculiar effect of light and shade under a tropical sun, from a view in Europe. The forcible contrasts of light and shadow . . . will be vainly looked for in India. Nature there presents no such direct opposition: she throws one solemn tone of grandeur over the whole scene, except in the hilly country, where the aspect of her general features is entirely changed (58). . . It happened, while we were at Agra, that the celebrated Scindia passed near the city with an escort of at least thirty thousand troops and two thousand elephants. He was grand-nephew to the Mahadajee Scindia being the grandson of his younger brother (59). We were attracted to the spot to see the Mahratta chieftain and his followers, and the sight was in truth a very splendid one. . . Some of the

(56) An engraving by G. Hollis of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A., entitled "The Banyan Tree," is given opposite p. 185.

(57) Fatehgarh, higher up the river, beyond Kanauj, must be intended. From there the journey would lie across country to Agra.

(58) These remarks which are obviously those of William Daniell himself, introduce (opposite page 194) an engraving by J. Lee of a drawing of his of "The Taje Mah'l at Agra" taken from the river Jumna. Caunter in a footnote adds: "It has been the object of the artist to give exact portraits of the scenes which his pencil has portrayed, and I am satisfied that no one who has been in India will deny the faithfulness of these representations."

(59) There is a sad confusion of dates here. Mahadaji Scindia died suddenly at Wanowres near Poona in 1794 after the Daniells had left India, and was succeeded by Dowlat Rao, whose army is the subject of description. An engraving by W. D. Taylor of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A. of "Mahadajee Scindia" is given opposite p. 229.

elephants were splendidly caparisoned, especially that upon which the Maharaja himself rode. The animal represented (60) belonged to a British officer and was the finest I have ever seen, insomuch that Mr. Daniell thought it a subject worthy of his pencil. It was purchased for four thousand rupees, or four hundred pounds sterling . . . From Agra we proceeded to Delhi. . . On the road to Futtypoor Sicree is a lofty minaret curiously ornamented, from the summit of which the Emperor Akbar used to enjoy elephant fights (61). We halted at Matura, an ancient city on the banks of the Jumna, about thirty miles from Agra (62). . . In the neighbourhood of this city there is a number of monkeys of very large size: these animals are supported from a fund left for that purpose by Mahadajee Scindia. One of them was lame from some accident, and in consequence of this resemblance to his patron (63), was treated with especial respect. . . .

Seven days after quitting Agra, we entered Delhi. The ruins in the neighbourhood of this once mighty city are extraordinary: they are scattered over a surface of nearly twenty miles, and the new city is said to have occupied an area of equal extent. The modern Delhi was founded by the Emperor Shah Jehan in 1631 and named after himself, Shajehanabad. It is about seven miles in circumference, and is protected on three sides by a plain brick wall. . . The most remarkable thing in this neighbourhood, abounding in magnificent ruins, is the well known Cuttab Minar, at old Delhi, nine miles south of the modern city (64). It is a magnificent tower, two hundred and forty-two feet high, and three feet in circumference at the base. . . . Upon quitting Delhi we made the best of our way to Anopeshur, a military station of some importance upon the Ganges. . . We now crossed the river and proceeded through Rohilcund to Hurdwar, whence we resolved, after staying as long as might be agreeable or convenient, to return to Calcutta. We arrived at Hurdwar, the most sacred town on the banks of the Ganges, just eighteen days after we quitted Delhi. . . Hurdwar is one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in India. . . Not far from here, the Ganges breaks through the Sewaluk mountains and enters the plains of India. . . The principal gaut, or

(60) An engraving by M. J. Starling of W. Daniell's drawing of "A Caparisoned Elephant" is given opposite p. 205. The painting, together with a companion picture of "A Hirkarah Camel" (of which an engraving by W. J. Cooke appears opposite p. 209) was exhibited in the Royal Academy of 1832. Both are now in the Soane Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(61) See *Oriental Annual* for 1838: frontispiece, "Futtypore Sicri, near Agra": and p. 110, "Minar at Futtypore Sicri" (the minaret mentioned in the text).

(62) There is another account of Muttra (Brindaban) in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (pp. 117-120): and an engraving by J. H. Kernot of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Mosque at Muttra," built by Abdulnubbi Khan, a foudjar of Aurungzebe, is given opposite p. 118.

(63) Mahadajee Scindia was wounded in the right knee at the third battle of Panipat in 1761, in which three of his brothers were killed.

(64) An engraving by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A. of the "Cuttab Minar" is given as a frontispiece to this volume of the *Oriental Annual* (1834).

flight of steps from the street to the river, exhibits a most elegant piece of plain masonry and is considered upon the whole the most sacred spot upon the Ganges (65). . . Before we quitted Hurdwar, we made a short excursion to the lower regions of the Himalaya Mountains, where we found the climate delightful and the face of the country diversified beyond description.

"SERINAGUR IN GURWHAL."
(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1835, P. 60).

Serinagur, where we halted, is the capital of Gurwhal, and situated on the south bank of the Alacananda river, which is the main stream of the sacred Ganges, almost seven leagues above its junction with the Bhageruttee, where a belt of level ground extends to a distance of several miles, forming the beautiful valley of Serinagur. This city was once a place of considerable importance, and a mart for the production of the countries on either side of the Snowy mountains. It was dreadfully shattered by an earthquake in 1803. Since that time it has been in a state of comparative decay, and will probably never be restored.

(65) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by W. Daniell, R.A. of "The Principal Gaut at Hurdwar" is given opposite p. 245. The picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1835, and is now in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, in Calcutta. In total disregard of chronology, an account is provided of the accident which occurred through overcrowding in 1820, and was attended by many casualties.

D.—THE EXPEDITION INTO THE HILLS.

(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1835, pp. 1 to 67).

UPON quitting Hurdwar we proceeded towards the mountains. . . We entered the mountains by the Coaduwar ghaut, meeting several travellers who gave us the rather discouraging information that the snow had begun to fall before they left Serinagur, where it was our intention to make our final halt. As we advanced the sky appeared to be tinged with a deep dingy red, and upon suddenly emerging from a narrow glen, to our astonishment the distant mountains seemed to be in a blaze. The fire swept up their sides to the extent of several miles, undulating like the agitated waves of the ocean when reddened by the slanting beams of the setting sun. It was like an ignited sea, exhibiting an effect at once new and fearful. This striking phenomenon is not by any means uncommon and is accounted for by the larger bamboos, as they are swayed by the wind, emitting fire from their hard glassy stems through the violence of their friction and thus spreading destruction through the mountain forests. These are so extensive that the fire continues to burn for many days together and is often as suddenly extinguished as it is ignited by those mighty deluges of rain so common in mountainous countries. . .

We had turned the angle of a hill that abutted upon a narrow stream when on the opposite side of the rivulet we saw a fine male rhinoceros. It stood apparently with great composure about two hundred yards above us in an open vista of the wood. Mr. Daniell, under the protection of a lofty intervening bank, was able to approach sufficiently near to make a perfect sketch of it; after which, upon a gun being fired, it deliberately walked off into the jungle (66). . .

Before we entered the pass of the mountains which separates them from the plains we were obliged to obtain permission from the Rajah of Serinagur to visit his capital. This permission was readily granted, though it caused some delay as the formalities even of a petty Rajah's court are invariably more numerous than agreeable: we nevertheless contrived to spend the intervening time pleasantly enough in the valleys through which our route lay to the Coaduwar ghaut. The Rajah sent an escort with two hirkarrahs (messengers) to conduct us from this place, where the mountains began to close in upon our path, exhibiting to our view that grandeur of form and majesty of aspect for which this mighty range is so pre-eminently distinguished. At this pass, upon the summit of a tabular hill which is ascended by steps cut in the rock, is built a small neat village, (67) flanked by a strong barrier and gateway. The walls on either side the portal are very massy, and the entrance narrow. The valley by which the hill is immediately bounded is protected towards the plains by a rapid stream, which taking a circular direction nearly encloses it on two sides, rushing down into the lower valley with a din and turbulence peculiar to mountain torrents.

(66) An engraving by J. Redaway of the drawing by W. Daniell appears opposite p. 4.

(67) Kotdwara.

The gate of the village was guarded by a small detachment of the Rajah's troops, and on passing under its low arch, we entered the territory of Serinagur. This village is quite deserted during the rainy season when the ghaut is rendered almost impassable, and becomes the abode of tigers, leopards, bears, hyenas, and other beasts of prey, which retire into the jungle as soon as clearer skies and a more genial temperature invite the return of man. Here the vakeel sent by the Rajah procured for us the necessary diggeries and sillenies—the former to bear our palankeens, the latter to carry our baggage: he was exceedingly civil and showed every disposition to diminish the difficulties which invariably arise to impede the progress of the mountain traveller. In these mountains especially there is generally a reluctance in the natives to contribute to the accommodation of a stranger, and it is no easy matter at any time to obtain porters to transport his baggage. They are for the most part a very indolent race, though accusomed to encounter the severities of want and to undergo occasionally the most difficult and arduous labour.

The palankeen used in these hills is of a peculiar construction and admirably adapted to the asperities of the region. In the precipitous ascents which here continually occur, the path frequently winds round angles so abrupt and acute that it would be impossible to get round them with the ordinary palankeen; the poles therefore of those which are adapted to mountain journeys are divided in the centre, acting upon a movable hinge, opening before and behind the palankeen, as the front bearer turns the sharp angle of a hill, and resuming their original position as soon as the abutment has been cleared and the path again becomes straight. It is wonderful to see with what agility the sillenies scale the steep acclivities, where there often appears scarcely footing for a goat, with loads that would distress any person of ordinary strength even upon level ground; they carry with them bamboos crossed at the top by a short transverse stick in the form of the ancient Greek T. upon which they rest their loads when fatigued. They are generally small men, but their limbs are large and the muscles strongly developed, from the severe exercise to which their laborious employment subjects them. Their legs are frequently disfigured by varicose veins, which dilate to the size of a man's little finger, appearing like cords twisted round their limbs and causing in the spectator a somewhat painful feeling of apprehension lest they should suddenly burst—a consequence that could not fail to be fatal.

We found the road here to be difficult and frequently dangerous winding along the edges of deep ravines and occasionally cut through the solid surfaces of the rock. The waters of the Coah Nullah dashed beneath our path over their narrow rocky bed, foaming and hissing on their way to the parent stream (68) of which they formed one of the numerous accessories. The channel is occasionally almost choked with huge masses of rock, which fall from the butting precipices above and so interrupt the course of the stream that it boils and lashes over them with an uproar truly appalling: specially when the traveller

casts his anxious eye over it while crossing one of those frail bridges over which he is so frequently obliged to pass in a journey through these mountains.

We again met with some delay, in consequence of the alarm of our servants at the aspect of the country. Many of them refused to advance and notwithstanding the civility of the Rajah's vakeel in procuring us porters, several of these quitted us shortly after we left the Coaduwar ghaut, and we had great difficulty in supplying their places; and when this was finally accomplished, it was not without resorting to a compulsory mode of discipline which necessity alone could have warranted but against which there was no alternative. Thus we were obliged to obtain by stripes what we could not do by persuasion. We however at length procured the number required over whom a vigilant watch was kept as we proceeded. . .

In the course of our progress towards Serinagur, we found all kinds of European trees and plants in abundance. We saw sweetbriar with and without thorns: walnut, maple, and willow-trees; apple and pear, peach, apricot, and barberry-trees: birch, yew, beech, pine, ash, and fir-trees: we saw likewise the mulberry, laurel, hazel, and marsh-mallow. Raspberries, strawberries, and gooseberries abound in this region, and flowers with which every European is familiar, the dog-rose, heliotrope, holly hock, marigold, nasturtium, poppy, larkspur; lettuces, turnips, cabbages, and potatoes, are also very plentiful—indeed, I think there is scarcely a European fruit, flower, or vegetable that is not to be found in some part or other of these mountains. We were told that oaks were occasionally seen in the higher regions of this immense chain, though we did not happen to see any. The common stinging nettle was very abundant, though somewhat more potent in its powers of infliction than the same plant so well known in Europe: and it was truly amusing to see with what alacrity one or two Bengalee servants who had ventured to accompany us, having unwittingly squatted down upon a tuft of these insidious evergreens, sprang upon their feet, gaping with inquisitive surprise at the cause of their sudden celerity.

As we advanced we crossed several nullahs in which were huge disjointed masses that had fallen from the super-incumbent rocks, so rounded and polished by constant attrition—for the extreme agitation of the waters produced a perpetual whirlpool—that one might have imagined they had been subjected to the process of human labour. . .

By this time the difficulties of our route had considerably increased: to look down some of the gaping gulfs which arrested our gaze as we passed them, required no ordinary steadiness of brain, and the road by which we had to descend was frequently so steep that we were obliged to cling to the jagged projections of rock or to the few stunted shrubs that appeared here and there in our path, in spite of the asperity of the stormy surface through which they with difficulty forced their way. . . Impediments began now to multiply upon us; we were obliged occasionally to wade through the nullahs as high as our hips, and found it no easy matter to keep our footing on account of the impetuous rushing of the waters, while the circular stones with which their channels abounded rendered them generally anything but easy to pass over. The beds

of these nullahs are very irregular and though narrow are generally deep. . . One of our followers was struck down by the impetuosity of the waters and was only saved by catching hold of the branch of a tree that had fortunately fallen across the stream. . . Our ascent was at times so laborious that we scarcely advanced more than half a mile in an hour. . .

We passed several villages (69) as we advanced towards Serinagur in which the houses were tolerably well constructed, though huddled together without either order or uniformity; they were, however upon the whole, not deficient in accommodation. As in Savoy and, I believe, in mountainous regions generally, so in these mountains the side of the hill commonly forms one of the walls of the highlanders' tenement, against which the roof is fixed and supported by two strong stone walls projecting at right angles from the face of the hill; the area being closed in by a third wall completing the square. These houses are entered by a low doorway, through which the inmates are obliged to creep, the aperture not being high enough to admit a child of more than three years without stooping.

Our road now lay up a very precipitous mountain, the bleak sides of which had been bared of vegetation by one of those conflagrations already noticed and not uncommon in these regions. The charred stumps of trees were everywhere visible as we ascended, presenting an aspect at once of ruin and desolation by no means cheering: higher up, however, the jungle remained entire. After slowly winding for some distance between two hills, we entered a dense thicket which day appeared never to have visited, for it was involved in a perpetual twilight. We now commenced a rapid and difficult descent: it led us into a valley overhung by the peaks of mountains which seemed to plunge their tall spires into the skies and absolutely to prop the firmament. Emerging from this valley we commenced another arduous ascent and although the summit of the hill appeared to promise a cessation of our labours, yet we had no sooner surmounted it than other hills rose, before us. . .

The third day after our departure from the Coaduwar Ghaut, we encountered a storm of thunder and lightning such as can never be easily effaced from my memory. . . The rain quickly poured down upon us in a deluge. We contrived to obtain a tolerable shelter under a projecting ledge which overhung a part of our path to the extent of several feet. . . Though the storm did not continue above a few minutes, it was nevertheless some times before we entirely recovered from its effects; it had indeed made a deep impression on us all and was by far the most terrible, for the time it lasted, I had ever witnessed. . .

Early in the afternoon of this day we came to a rude Bridge (70) which it was necessary to cross in order to save a circuit of several miles. This we determined to do in spite of the hazard which is by no means trifling to one

(69) Jugcanor, Buddell and Bilate: illustrated in "Oriental Scenery" (4th series, Nos. 16 and 19).

(70) An engraving of William Daniell's drawing of the Rope-Bridge is reproduced in the "Oriental Annual" for 1838: (p. 213). See also sketch no. 23 in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery."

unaccustomed to so novel a method of transportation. . . The bridge consisted simply of two ropes of about an inch and a half in diameter made of twisted creepers, eighteen inches apart, passed through a hoop and secured on either side of the stream by strong bamboos driven firmly into the earth parallel to each other. The passenger places himself between the parallel ropes within the hoop, on the lower rim of which he is seated and holding a rope in either hand pulls himself across. To the hillmen this is a sufficiently easy process, and they perform it without the slightest apprehension: but to any one who has never before trusted himself upon such an equivocal machine, over a deep and impetuous torrent at an elevation of from eighty to a hundred feet, it is a matter of no ordinary peril. Nothing can be well conceived more appalling than, hanging over the tremendous abyss supported by two small ropes and a hoop, to cast the eye down upon the hissing flood beneath tossed and agitated into innumerable whirlpools by the narrowness and asperity of the channel, the whole machine fearfully vibrating and threatening to give way at every impulse of the wind, which frequently whistles over the trembling passenger with most menacing violence. . .

After a short progress we reached a chasm above which the mountain rose to an immense attitude and we had to ascend its steep sides by a path so narrow as only to admit one passenger in line. A broad cataract bounded over the precipice up the side of which we were ascending (71). . .

Upon the sixth day after we quitted Hurdwar we entered Serinagur. During the whole of the march of the preceding day the snowy range had been distinctly visible. . .

Shortly after our arrival at Serinagur we were introduced to the Rajah. We found him an intelligent person, courteous in his manners, and of easy, unembarrassed address. His countenance indicated no particular kind of character, yet was by no means deficient in intelligence. His manners inspired confidence, and he received us with an undissembled welcome. He was frank and free, though somewhat effeminate, giving great attention to his dress which was evidently arranged with much care. He wore large gold bangles on his wrists, while his fingers were covered with rings of different shapes and weight, composed of the same metal.

The inhabitants of Serinagur appeared to be a mixed race, exhibiting in their features the blended lineaments of highlander, lowlander, Pathan, Tartar, Chinese and Hindoo; and often showing the especial peculiarities of these several races. Their complexions are swarthy, though in a slight degree, and they have very little beard; yet when they possess more than the usual superfluity, it is a good deal prized by them. They are upon the whole a most inoffensive race, and though not deficient in courage to make resistance when attacked, they have displayed very little ingenuity in devising the most effectual

(71) Here follows a description of the descent from the *khud*, by means of a rope, of a coolie to recover a small portmanteau which had dropped from his shoulders. The depth of the descent is given as two hundred feet. This passage, together with another relating to the prevalence of goitre in these hills, is omitted as a digression.



SRINAGAR IN GARHWAL.

(from a Photograph taken by F. C. Scallan on Sept. 24, 1922).

means of defence, considering the advantages which their mountains afford them.

On the second day after our arrival the Rajah paid us a visit in form, accompanied by the principal officers of his court. There was however very little ceremony observed upon what might be considered a state occasion,—for he came in full court costume. At our first visit we had presented him with a pair of pistols and a watch: the latter he now brought with him, requesting us to explain how it performed its movements. . . After the powers of the watch had been explained to the Rajah a little gunpowder was presented to him with the strength of which he seemed surprised as that made by the natives in far less efficacious than the powder manufactured in Europe. . . We shortly after parted with mutual expressions of kindness and good wishes.

Before we quitted Serinagur we visited the Rajah's stables in which was a beautiful animal of the bovine species called a yak (72). . .

After remaining a few days at Serinagur, where we were treated with great kindness by the Rajah, we set out on our return towards the plains. We reached Nujibabad in about four days, pitched our tents, and made a short stay there. It is a small town built by Nujib ul Dowlah, a Rohilla chief of some note in his day, for the purposes of attracting the commerce between Cashmere and Hindostan. It is situated about twenty miles to the S. E. of Hurdwar and is ninety-five miles from Delhi. . . The streets are in general broad, regular and remarkably clean for an Indian town. They are divided by barriers at different intervals, forming distinct bazars in which the scene is sufficiently busy, though much less variety is displayed there than formerly. The situation of the town is low and its surrounding country swampy. . .

In the neighbourhood of Nujibabad are the remains of some fine buildings and just without the town is seen the tomb of its founder, Nujib ul Dowlah. . . It is a square building flanked with four cupolas stuccoed with chunam and having a dome covered with the same material rising out of the centre (73). . . This monument stands upon the border of a lake which when swelled by the rains almost washes the lateral wall on the southern side. . . The view of the distant mountains from the plain on which this mausoleum stands is grand in the extreme. . .

During our stay at Nujibabad the thermometer in our tents was occasionally as high as 105 degrees.

(72) An engraving by R. Wallis of William Daniell's drawing of "The Yak of Thibet" is given opposite page 28. Thirteen pages are occupied with an account of the Gurkha War of 1814, including Sir Rollo Gillespie's capture of the fort of Kalunga: and also with some moralizing on the characteristics of "the natives of this wild and inhospitable country," such as female infanticide.

(73) An engraving by S. H. Kernot of William Daniell's sketch of the tomb appears opposite page 62.

E.—THE RETURN TO CALCUTTA.

(ORIENTAL ANNUAL, 1835, PP. 67—153).

UPON our departure from this town [Najibabad] we proceeded to Kerutpoor, a distance of about twelve miles. . . . At Chandpoor, (74) our next halting place, we received much attention from the chief of the district to whom we had letters of introduction. . . . Upon quitting Chandpoor we passed through large tracts of jungle. . . . On approaching the Ganges we found the country more open and agreeable. . . . At Sumbal there is a mosque of considerable beauty, though not much respected, built by the unfortunate but virtuous Humayun (75). . . . We crossed the Ganges at the Depour gaut, proceeded to Anopshur, a military station above Futtyghur, and after a progress of four days, crossed the Kyratta gaut on the Jumna and entered the still splendid capital of the Mogul Empire. But Delhi is no longer what it was during the domination of the house of Timour. Its glory has departed though it is magnificent even in its decay.

We saw much more of Delhi on our return than on our upward journey : for we made a longer stay there. One of the most striking objects in the modern city is the tomb of Sufter Jung (76). . . . Before we quitted this neighbourhood we visited the fort of Toglokabad, at the extremity of one of the Mewat hills, not far from the city (77). . . . After quitting this interesting capital of a once flourishing but subverted Empire, on passing Firoz Shah's cotilla (or fortified house), a few leagues from Delhi (78) our attention was arrested by a pillar consisting of a single stone forty-six feet high and upwards of ten

(74) In the Bijnor district, "Gate of Serai at Chandpore in the Rohilla district" is the title of a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1807. Amroha in the Moradabad district was next passed : see Thomas Daniell's Academy picture in 1813 : "The Eedgah, a place designed for the performance of solemn festivals by the professors of the Mahomedan religion, near Amrooh in the Rohilla district." Sketch No. 10 in the third series of *Oriental Scenery* represents : "Gate of a Mosque built by Hafez Ramut at Pillibeat," which however lies beyond Barcilly and well off the line of route. Bisauli in the Budaon district must also have been visited : Academy picture by Thomas Daniell in 1799 : "Mahomedan Buildings at Bissowles in Rohilcund."

(75) Baber is buried at Sumbāl (Sambhal) in the Moradabad district. William Daniell took a sketch of the tomb : and an engraving is given opposite p. 3 of the "Oriental Annual" for 1838.

(76) Safdar Jung, Subadar of Oudh, and Vizier of the Empire was the son of Saadat Khan, the founder of the family. He died in 1756 and was succeeded by Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh whose name is so prominently connected with that of Hastings and the Rohilla War of 1774. An engraving by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by W. Daniell of the "Mausoleum of Sufter Jung, Delhi" is given opposite page 96.

(77) The fortress of Tughlekabad was built by Tughlak Shah (1321-1325). In the "Oriental Annual" for 1837 engravings are given from drawings by William Daniell of a "Patan Tomb at Tughlakabad, old Delhi" (p. 95) and of the "Mausoleum of Tughlak Shah, Tughlakabad" (p. 175).

(78) "The Western Gate of Firoz Shah's cotilla, Delhi" is the subject of a picture exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy of 1807. Sketch No. 7 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* represents "Remains of an ancient building near Firoz Shah's cotilla at Delhi (three miles from the Fort of Shahjehanabad which is the modern Delhi)."

in circumference at the base. There are many inscriptions upon the pillar which it has baffled the ingenuity of the learned to decipher (79). . . We now followed the course of the Jumna to the Chauter Serai, built by Asuf Khan, brother to the celebrated Noor Jahan. . . The morning after our halt at this interesting spot, Mr. Daniell and myself rose early in order to indulge ourselves with a sight of the beautiful prospect round us (80). . . We were induced to extend our halt near the Chauter Serai in consequence of a hunting party having arrived in the neighbourhood which we gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity of joining (81). . . Upon quitting the Chauter Serai, we reached Mathura. Here is a very magnificent mosque, said to have been built by Abdulnubbi Khan, a foudar (or officer in charge of a troop of elephants) of the Emperor Aurangzeb (82). . . From Mathura we proceeded towards the capital of the province. . . From Agra we crossed the Jumna and proceeded by the usual route to Futtyghur. Here we were most hospitably entertained for several days by the commanding officer of a small detachment stationed in the town, which is one of several military depôts on the Ganges. From Futtyghur we crossed the Ganges and proceeded to Lucknow on the Goomty. We reached Lucknow just as the Nawaub was passing down the Goomty in his state barge, the Moah Punkee (83). . . (Here follows a description of the animal fights for which the Nawab's Court was famous.) Among the architectural objects worthy of notice at Lucknow is a Mausoleum erected to the memory of a female relative of Nawaub Asoph ud Dowlah (84). . . Lucknow is about six hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta, and is consequently much visited by many residents of the Presidency, especially by ladies as anxious to see the elephant fights and other novelties for which this city is celebrated, as those of the sterner gender. . . The day before we quitted Lucknow we paid a visit to the Nawaub to take leave and thank him for his hospitality. . . He received us with great complacency and kindness and after a few minutes' conversation on indifferent topics we withdrew. Upon quitting the Nawaub we repaired to the garden of the palace, which was laid out with great magnificence and taste. The buildings are merely garden-houses constructed

(79) The allusion must be to the Asoka pillar, near Delhi: There are two of these, brought thither by Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351-1370), one from Topra in the Umballa district and the other from Meerut. Firoz Shah built a new Delhi which he called Firozabad.

(80) An engraving by J. H. Kernot of a drawing by W. Daniell of "The Agra Gate, Chauter Serai" is given opposite page 106. The modern Chhata.

(81) Thomas Daniell exhibited a picture entitled "Tiger hunting in the East Indies" at the Royal Academy of 1799: and William Daniell a picture with a similar title "Tiger hunting in India" at the Royal Academy of 1835. The former was in the possession of the late Mr. George Lyell ("Tiger in the Jungle"): see Journ. Ind. Art. 1912 Vol. V. No. 117 p. 13. The latter is in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore.

(82) An engraving by J. H. Kernot of a drawing by W. Daniell of the "Mosque at Muttra in the province of Agra built in the reign of the Emperor Aurungzebe" was shown at the Royal Academy of 1834.

(83) An engraving by R. Brandard of a drawing by W. Daniell of "The Moar-punkee, Lucnow" is given opposite page 128.

(84) An engraving by W. J. Cooke of a drawing by W. Daniell of a "Mausoleum at Lucnow" is given opposite, p. 138.

of brick and beautifully stuccoed with chunam: they are raised on chaupoutres (chabutras) with steps to ascend from the garden to the first storey (85). Quitting Lucknow, we proceeded to Juanpore. . . The landscape between Lucknow and Juanpore, especially near the former city, presents at times the same artificial appearance as an English park. Upon our approach to Juanpore, several old mosques for which it is remarkable, rose sublimely in the distance. As we approached the bridge they opened in full view and forced from us an exclamation of involuntary surprise. The Atoulah Khan Musjid is . . . only second in magnificence and in the costliness of its materials to the celebrated Taje Mahal. . . The most gorgeous portion of the interior is the central aisle (86). . . During our stay at Juanpore, we were so annoyed by white ants, that we were glad to escape from this intolerable nuisance and proceed on our way to Benares. . . After we quitted Juanpore nothing occurred worth recording till we came in sight of Benares. . . As we approached the city we were induced to moor our budgerow and land, in order that we might see the Churrack Puja. . . The penitentiary was a handsome man, in the full vigour of manhood, and who had lost his caste by eating interdicted food during a voyage from Calcutta to China, whether he had gone as servant to the captain of a ship. . . On landing at Benares we passed a ruined bridge over the Bernar, one of the rivers from which the city takes its present name, and pitched our tents near the Bernar Pagoda. (87) We were so near it as to be considerably incommoded by the swarm of devotees who frequented it with a most boisterous piety. . . We therefore struck our tents, crossed the river, and pitched them opposite Aurangzeb's mosque. (88) On quitting Benares, which we did after a halt of a few days, we directed our steps to Rhotas Gur, one of the most romantic spots south of the Himalaya mountains. . . On the third day after quitting Benares, we crossed the bridge at Mow, near Bidzee Gur, and ascended the hill. On reaching the fort in which the rebel Cheit Singh had deposited his treasures in 1781, we found it in a state of great dilapidation. (89) On descending the hill we proceeded to the Eckpouah ghaut through an agreeable wood that terminated within a mile of it. . . Immediately below this pass was a rich dell thickly wooded. . . A deep and rapid nullah foamed beneath. . . On the right were bold precipitous rocks. . . On the left were gently undulating hills, the distance terminating with the valley through which the river Soane winds its placid course. . . In the neighbourhood of Sasseram, where we halted for a day, we found many fine subjects for the pencil. . . The Zemindar of Akbarpoor,

(85) An engraving by R. Brandard of a drawing by W. Daniell of a "View in the Garden of the Palace, Lucknow" is given opposite page 172.

(86) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by W. Daniell of the "Interior of a Mosque, Juanpore" is given as a frontispiece to the volume.

(87) An engraving by R. Wallis of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Bernar Pagoda, Benares," is given opposite page 190.

(88) An engraving by G. Hollis of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Mosque at Benares" is given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1834 opposite page 127.

(89) An engraving by M. J. Starling of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Hill Fort of Bidzee Gur" is given in the "Oriental Annual" for 1834, opposite p. 175.

a village at the foot of the hill on which the fort Rhotas stands, very obligingly sent us two or three men to guide us to the summit . . . about nine hundred feet above the level of the plain. . . At length we entered the fort, which is gained by a flight of winding stairs through a gateway flanked on either side by a wall of vast thickness that abuts each side upon a precipice (90). . . Quitting Rotas Gur, on our way to Patna, we halted at Gyah, where there are several majestic ruins. At Muddenpoor, a village in the neighbourhood of Gyah, we visited a Hindoo temple formerly in high repute, though now in a state of dilapidation. There are several small trees growing out of the tower, which rises to a great height above the body of the temple, and . . . is surmounted by a small fluted dome. This temple which is built without cement. . . Stands on an eminence at some distance from the public road. . . The view from this spot is hardly inferior to that seen from the summit of Rhotas Gur (91). . . From Gyah we proceeded a few miles out of our direct route to Bode Gyah where there is one of the most celebrated temples to be found in Hindustan (92). . . The temple is entirely deserted: years have rolled away since the knee of the worshippers has bent before its altars. . . . From Bode Gyah we made the best of our way to Patna, where our budgrow was waiting for us, and thence dropped down the river to Rajamah'li. Here we crossed the Ganges and proceed in our palankeens to the ruins of Gour, once the capital of Bengal, and about thirty miles from Rajamah'li. . . Nothing scarcely remains of the old city except a few solemn ruins. One of the gateways is still a magnificent object. . . The arch is upwards of fifty feet high and the wall of immense thickness (93). . . The morning after we reached Gour we went out, as was our usual practice, with guns, but the jungle was so rank and the swamps so dangerous that we were glad to return. On our way back a large wild sow was shot at by Mr. Daniell, and wounded in the hind leg. She was so much disabled that she could not make her escape: but . . . she turned upon the person who approached to despatch her, with a ferocious activity, her jaws covered with foam. . . . A second shot broke the other hind leg. . . She nevertheless contrived to scramble into a ditch filled with tall jungle grass. . . The grass was soon plucked up. . . when she literally sprang upon her assailant on her two stumps. . . The men attacked her with bamboos and having broken one of her forelegs she was despatched (94). . .

(90) An engraving by J. C. Armytage of a drawing by William Daniell of "The Kutwhuttea Gate, Rotas Gur" appears opposite p. 210.

(91) An engraving by R. Wallis of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Hindoo Temple at Muddunpore, Bahar," is given opposite p. 222.

(92) An engraving by W. J. Cooke of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Great Temple at Bode Gyah" is given opposite p. 232.

(93) An engraving by J. Redaway of a drawing by William Daniell of the "Kutwallee Gate, Gour," is given opposite p. 244.

(94) A picture by Thomas Daniell entitled "Wild Boar in the Jungle at Gaur" was in the possession of the late Mr. George Lyell (see Journ. Ind. Art. 1912, Vol. XV, No. 117, p. 13). It does not appear to have been exhibited at the Royal Academy.

On the following day we returned to our budgerow and proceeded leisurely down the Ganges. Not far from Rajmah'l, we were overtaken by a severe squall. . . Our budgerow struck against the bank and received a severe shock, the water making its way so rapidly that we were obliged to keep two men constantly empowered in taking her out. Our patilla, or baggage boat, was swamped and went to the bottom with everything we possessed in the world, except our papers and drawings which we happened luckily to have on board the budgerow. The patilla was considerably astern of us when she went down, nor were we conscious of the accident until we had moored for the night. . . Next morning we proceeded up the river in search of our sunken boat and at length saw her mast just above water near the opposite shore. . . . Having got into a small boat, we made for the spot, and with the assistance of our dandies succeeded in saving a portion of our things from the wreck, though many were irrecoverable. . . . On the morrow we floated again upon the broad bosom of the Ganges, which was hourly widening. . . On the fifth day after we quitted Gour we reached Calcutta, from the splendour of its buildings now called the City of Palaces, though within a century it was nothing better than a rude straggling town without regularity or beauty, containing indeed a dense population and surrounded by a dreary and unwholesome jungle, the haunt of robbers and the abode of beasts of prey (95).

(95) An engraving by W. J. Cooke of a drawing by William Daniell of "Calcutta from Garden-house reach" is given opposite p. 254.

The Last Will and Testament of Mr. G. F. Grand.*

READERS of Dr. Busteed's delightful "Echoes from Old Calcutta" will remember that the fate of Mr. Grand is left indeterminate. We last hear of him there as Inspector of Woods and Lands at the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1812 Sir James Mackintosh records in his Memoirs that on his journey home from Bombay his ship put in at the Cape where he met Mr. Grand at the African Club. In 1815, the anonymous author of a book entitled "Sketches of India, etc.," speaks of meeting Mr. Grand who poured out his woes to a sympathetic listener. "I found him the gentleman and much esteemed."

From the *Cape Town Gazette* of January 22, 1820, we learn of his death. "17th January. At 11 o'clock in the night of the 17th instant George Francis Grand, Esq., aged 71, a Gentleman, who, to the termination of a long life, chequered with vicissitudes, under which ordinary minds would have sunk, retained the active feelings of good will, and the elastic cheerfulness, which belong to youth and prosperity. Hospitable, while he possessed means, always gentlemanlike and agreeable, Mr. Grand will be long regretted by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance."

The same issue contains the following obituary notice:—"Died on the 17th instant at 11 at night George Francis Grand, Esq., aged 71. A loss his widow cannot announce to relatives and friends but with the deepest and most unaffected sorrow, Cape Town, 19th January 1820. E. S. P. Grand born Bergh." (This is repeated in Dutch.)

The widow's name was Egberta Sophia Petronella, baptised September 23, 1781, eldest daughter of Egbertus Bergh and Adriana Sophia van Reede of Oudtshoorn. The original Bergh was Olof Bergh of Gotherberg, Military Captain in the Dutch East India Company's service, who came to South Africa about the year 1680 and married Anna de Koningh (see Geslacht—Register der Oude Kaapsche Familier—Kaapstad 1893).

The Will is to be found in a copy in the Master's Office 81 225 to 229
1870
The last Will of George Francois Grand is dated August 18, 1818 and the notarial execution thereof Wednesday, October 7 of the same year; and it is what is called a "closed will," the document being sealed up together with annexures and deposited with the notary on the last named date. The Testator "being confined to bed from illness of body, though, thank God, perfectly sound in mind," appoints his beloved wife Egberta Sophia Petronella Grand born Bergh "sole heiress and executrix to all my personal and real property and what may devolve to me from the amount in the stocks of England which my sister Mrs. Bell may leave, charging my said wife only to pay out of it four hundred pounds sterling to Mr. Francis Corevon of Yverdun, Canton of Vaud, in Switzerland, Greffier, or to his Heirs, Executors or Assigns."

*A Paper read at the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Calcutta in January 1923.

The Codicil is dated August 27, 1818: "As it has pleased God to give me more strength of Body than I had on that day, I enter now more largely into the particulars which guide me on that occasion." After the discharge of the abovementioned sum of £400, "whatever remaineth is exclusively my wife's to enjoy the interest thereof during her life," the corpus "to the children of my nephew Mr. Corevon in equal portions." Mrs. Bell's money in the English stocks was relinquished to her by her brothers (including the testator). The testator desires it all to go, on Mrs. Bell's death, to his widow and confides that Mrs. Bell will dispose of it accordingly.

The testator refers to the insanity of his unfortunate son, Major George Robert Grand of the Madras Establishment. The testator charges "Oloff Bergh, LL.D., my wife's brother, Mr. George Thomas, my agents, as well as Mr. Egbertus Bergh, my wife's father, should he survive me, to employ all his and their interest both in Holland and England to obtain some remuneration to my large claims on the East India Company (*vide* Narrative)." *N.B.*—No Narrative is annexed to the Will.

"Finally I request my first wife, since the Princess of Talleyrand, to extend a portion of the annuity which out of consideration and regard for my conduct towards her during my Prosperous Career in Life she tendered in my adversity, *viz.*, as is comprised in my Narrative, a handsome pension for life to enjoy when I pleased, I entreat her with my last Breath to allow half the said amount to my present and second wife during her Life and in assurance of the sentiments and goodness which during a happy time I experienced with my first wife that she was blessed with, I comfort myself whilst still living that my Prayer and Intreaty to Her will not have been made in vain."

There are annexures to the Will. "A" is a Memorandum as follows:—"That I was not a bad unfeeling Brother nor an indisposed son when the means were afforded me. I paid all my mother's and sister's expenses in bringing them from Switzerland to Beverley in Yorkshire in the year 1775. . . . I gave my sisters Elizabeth and Jennie sums of money. I helped my sister Susan, the late Mrs. Ledlie, to procure her Indian outfit." (The Narrative mentions on page 57 that "the old lady my mother made her election of Beverley in Yorkshire for her future residence.")

Annexure B is a letter in French from his first wife, dated October 14, 1800. le 14 Octobre.

Precis: I have obtained a divorce d'après les loix du Pays ou J'avais pris mon domicile. The decree is dated 18 germinal an 6, soit du 8 avril 1798. This releases me, but does it release you in England? I will take all necessary steps.

Ce n'est pas sans regret que je vous communique ma determination tout à fait irrevocable, mais J'aime à espérer que vous rendrez justice à ces Regrets comme à tous les sentimens que je conserverai pour vous.

N. C. WORLEE,

In dorso docketed: In answer to my letter of June 1800 on the subject of a divorce.

Annexure "C" is an earlier letter from the same lady, dated June 10, the year being evidently 1800.

le 10 Juin.

On m'a remis, Monsieur, une lettre de vous et son duplicata à laquelle je puis répondre mieux que personne, vous demandez s'il est vrai que je sois remariée. Je dois vous déclarer que je ne le suis pas (1). J'ai appris avec plaisir par Mr. Archdekin que vous étiez arrivé en Europe en bonne santé. Je vous souhaite toute sorte de bonheur. Je vous prie de dire à Mr. Archdekin que je lui répondrai lorsque la personne de qui dépend ce qu'il désire sera ici.

N. C. WORLEE-GRAND.

N.B.—This message was to intimate to Mr. Archdekin that so soon as Bonaparte returned to Paris application would be made by her to him for a passport to enable Archdekin to visit the south of France, Nice, for the benefit of his health.

Nothing seems to be known of Mr. Archdekin except his participation in the events of December 8, 1778, when the Narrative records (pp. 84, 85): "I beheld with astonishment the present Sir George Shee bound to a chair and endeavouring to obtain from my servants his release, with Mr. Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, and the late Mr. Archdekin, companions to him, joining in the same prayer and entreaty." This would indicate that he had died before 1808, when according to the advertisement the Narrative was brought to a close.

Annexure "D" is a brief letter dated Southampton, October 26, 1814. "My dear Brother, Sister Jane is insane in an asylum at Bedford. She is a great expense, etc. (Signed) E. Bell."

Certain additional information is obtained from Calendars, etc., in the Public Library, Capetown. In 1805 his name appears as Consulting Councillor or Raad Consulents in the Governorship of Jan Willem Janssens. On the 6th of April 1806 after the Cape of Good Hope had been taken over by the British Mr. G. F. Grand was appointed Inspector of Government Woods and Lands in the room of Mr. G. H. Cloete who had resigned the post, Grand being described as late Counsellor Extraordinary to the Batavian Government. His name figures in the African Court Calendar for the year 1807. In the next Calendar this office of Inspector is held by J. P. Baumgardt, Esq. The first Directory appears in the African Court Calendar for 1812. In that year and continuously up to 1820 the entry is

George Francois Grand 29 Heeregragt.

Heerengracht is now Adderley Street, the principal Commercial thoroughfare in Capetown.

(1) Madame Grand married Talleyrand on September 9, 1802 (22 Fructidor An X.)

It may be as well here to dispel the statement which Dr. Busteed found on a pasted-in flyleaf in the British Museum Copy of the Narrative written in a senile hand signed Jno Row that "the annexed Narrative was the first book printed in English at the Cape of Good Hope." Many books were published in Capetown before 1814 (see Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography, Vol. I, Kegan Paul & Co., 1910). There was no time to trace out the place of Grand's burial. The old Cemetery in Somerset Street has been lately disused, and many of the monuments removed to "Maitland," the others built into the Wall.

From the Last Will and Testament certain interesting facts emerge. Firstly that Mr. Grand was in receipt of a handsome pension from his first wife. He speaks on the last page of his Narrative "of the generosity of a Friend who had a lively remembrance of attachment and obligation for the conduct which I had observed during prosperity" and of being "offered by the same liberal friend a handsome pension to live in ease and to enjoy for the remainder of my days where the local was most agreeable." Although the bounty was tendered to him by "the warmest friends of my youth" Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Wombwell (2) "I rejected this munificence." Apparently the rejection did not last for long.

The second fact is the reference to his son. All that can be found of this person is the information given in Dodwell & Miles' Alphabetical List of Officers in the Indian Army. He was a cadet in 1796, ensign August 17, 1797, Lieutenant, October 12, 1789, Captain, September 21, 1804, and Major, November 6, 1811. On November 7, 1811, the day after he attained his Majority he was invalided in India and was struck off September 25, 1823, in England. Mr. William Foster, Keeper of the Records in the India Office, whom I addressed in the matter, states that there are no Cadet Papers in his case and no other information about his parentage; nor is his baptism recorded in their ecclesiastical returns. In the Army List of 1800 his name appears as Lieutenant in the 12th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry.

(2). John Wombwell was a fellow-passenger of Grand when he embarked (for the second time) for India on board the *Greenwich* (676 tons, Captain Robert Carr) which sailed from Falmouth for "the Coast and Bay" on January 7, 1776. Grand had received a writership on the Bengal establishment "on the list of 1776": and Wombwell, according to Grand (Narrative, p. 66) had run through his money and was glad to accept a similar appointment which was obtained for him by his cousin, Sir George Wombwell (Director from 1766 to 1768, and again from 1775 to 1783: Chairman of the Court in 1777, and also in 1778). He subsequently became Company's Accountant at Lucknow, and figures in Zoffany's famous picture of Colonel Mordant's "Cock Match" with the Nawab Wazir Asaf-ud-Daula. Zoffany also painted him in a group with Claud Martin, Colonel Anthony Polier and the artist himself. Although not an "Old Westminster," he was one of the two or three outsiders who joined with Warren Hastings' former schoolfellows in presenting him with a silver cup. Wombwell's father and Grand's father were partners, with Mr. Coxon, the British Consul at Alicante in Spain, in the firm of Wombwells, Grand and Coxon, of London and Alicante (ibid : p. 66 note).

The question naturally arises : was he a son of Madame Grand or not? Mr. Grand in the postscript to his Narrative calls God to witness that to his knowledge he never saw the first Mrs. Grand neither in India nor in Europe "from that melancholy Sunday, viz., December 13th, 1778, the sensations of which day I have described, and which fixes our eternal separation." There seems to be no hint of a child being in existence at the time of the Francis scandal or subsequently. The puzzle only leaves the romance of Madame Grand more romantic still.

A word or two in conclusion as to the brothers and sisters of our hero. He had two brothers in the Bengal Army. Lieut. Robert Edward Grand of the First Regiment of Native Cavalry, was killed in action on March 4, 1782, in an action against some rebellious Zamindars in the Juanpore district which is apparently the old name for Benares. Another brother, John Edmund Grand of the Bengal Artillery, who was Lieut. Fireworker in 1778, died at Cawnpore on June 13, 1793 (3).

Three sisters at least are known of. Susan in 1786 married Robert Ledlie (4) a Barrister, 23 years her senior and died in Calcutta on July 26, 1800, "on the 33rd of her age." Elizabeth who was in Calcutta with her sister in 1800 married Lieut.-Col. Bell of the Northumberland Greys and is the Mrs. Bell referred to more than once in the Will. Lastly there is Jennie or Jane, the second lunatic in the family. She was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta on July 6, 1799 to Lieut. John Peregrine Reed, who himself died at Barrackpore on July 20, 1802.

So ends the last chapter in the life of a person who whatever his vicissitudes can only be described as a futile fellow. Mirza Abu Taleb who travelled with him in the same ship from Calcutta to Dover in 1799 describes him as a very passionate and delicate gentleman of an enormous size. This confirms the story told by Mr. Grand against himself that when he went to interview Lord Cornwallis at Calcutta in 1792 his Lordship even deigned a smile saying that it seemed to him that the good fat beef for which Patna stood renowned had agreed very well with him.

J. J. COTTON,
Madras Civil Service.

(3. According to the late Mr. E. W. Madge (Narrative, p. 303, note) the Bengal Directories for 1800 and 1801 contain the name of William Grand, indigo manufacturer, Lelaugur.

(4). Robert Ledlie died in Calcutta on November 24, 1809, at the age of 65. He was then holding the appointments of Master in Equity, Accountant-General, and Keeper of Records in the Supreme Court. The date of his marriage with Susan Grand explodes the story, given in a pamphlet entitled *The Memoirs of the Ledlie Family* (see Narrative, p. 301, note) that he came out to India in 1786 in the same ship with Lord Cornwallis. It is stated in the same pamphlet that he became Judge Advocate-General of the Supreme Court at Fort William, "a splendid appointment. . . . worth £10,000 a year." According to Captain R. W. Eastwick (*A Master Mariner*, p. 124) Ledlie was an early friend of the Duke of Wellington. "On our arrival at Garden Reach, Colonel Wellesly asked me to land with him at the house of his friend, Mr. Ledley, whose beautiful mansion was built close to the river bank."

The Indian Historical Records Commission.

FIFTH SESSION.

THE Indian Historical Records Commission was, as stated in my previous article, (1) constituted in 1919 for encouraging historical research in India. With this object it meets annually at different centres of intellectual activity in India. The fifth session of the Commission was held at Calcutta on the 12th of January last and the proceedings were opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. Simultaneously with the meeting of the Commission a highly interesting exhibition of records, deeds, manuscripts, paintings and other historical relics supplied by official departments and by private individuals, was held.

The session was opened by His Excellency the Governor, who in his address, after welcoming the members of the Commission to Calcutta, gave a succinct account of the two important Government archives at Calcutta, viz., the Imperial Record Department and the Historical Record Room of the Government of Bengal. His Excellency brought into prominence the vast wealth of material which is available in these archives for the use of historical research students, possessing as they do, the entire history of the doings of the East India Company down to 1858. His Excellency also reviewed briefly the work that had already been done by these Record Departments to render the contents of the records accessible to the public and paid, in this connection, a high tribute to the indefatigable labours of Archdeacon Firminger in the Bengal Record Room. He expressed satisfaction at the revival of the Calcutta Historical Society under the stimulus of the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, who was a member of the Commission, and who had always taken a keen interest in old Calcutta. His Excellency hoped that the learned societies of Calcutta, viz., the Historical Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, would fully utilize the wealth of information contained in the old records of Government. In conclusion he referred to the Exhibition of documents, paintings and other historical relics, which had been arranged in connection with the meeting.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., thanked His Excellency, on behalf of the Commission, for his kindness in opening the proceedings. He and the members of the Commission then showed the various exhibits to His Excellency. After His Excellency's departure, the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton presided over the meeting of the Commission. Altogether there were fifteen

(1) See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 70.

interesting papers but all could not be read out in full for want of time. Some of the more important ones are noticed below :—

1. *The affairs of the English Factory at Surat, 1694-1700 (from original Persian records)* by Prof. J. N. Sarkar.

The author stated that during the above period the Surat Factory was in a bad way owing to slackness of trade and lowness of finance due to the jealousy of the rival New Company. "The chief harm, however, to the English, and indeed to all the European traders (though in varying degrees) resulted from the reaction against European piracy in the Indian Ocean." The history of the Surat Factory for the period appears in published works like J. Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar* (1907) Arnold Wright's *Annesley of Surat and his times*, (1918), and the dry *Annals* of Bruce (1810). "But the writers of these works have utilized the English records only. Hence, they have failed to take note of the other side of the case, and to describe the attitude and views of the Mughal Government from first hand knowledge. For that one must turn to Persian sources of which three are extant, namely—

- (a) 'The Persian Letter-book of the Surat Factory for 1695-6, now in the India Office, London.'
- (b) 'A manuscript entitled *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat* containing short notes and hints dictated by Aurangzeb to his Secretary Inayutullah Khan to be expanded into formal letters and addressed to various public servants. They belong to the years 1700-1705.'
- (c) 'News-letters or bulletins of the daily darbars of Aurangzeb, entitled, *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mualla* (This manuscript preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain).'

"A study of these State papers of the Mughal Government side by side with the English records of Surat and Madras during the last decade of the seventeenth century establishes the general correctness of the latter, it also helps to supply many additional details and offers illustrations of the history of the Surat factory as already known to us. From these State papers alone can we learn the Emperor's innermost thoughts, the counsels of his ministers and the Indian point of view, which the Court agents of the English merchants often merely guessed at."

2. *The Last Will and Testament of Mr. G. F. Grand* by Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., (Madras).

Mr. G. F. Grand passed through many vicissitudes in life. Dr. Busteed's account in *Echoes from Old Calcutta* is indeterminate. There he is last spoken of as Inspector of Woods and Lands at the Cape of Good Hope. From the obituary notice in the *Cape Town Gazette* dated the 22nd January, 1820, it appears that he died at Cape Town on 17th January 1820. His last Will, which is a 'closed will' is dated 18th August 1818 and was deposited in the Master's Office.

The interesting facts which emerge from the Will are—first that Mr. Grand was in receipt of a handsome pension from his first wife; secondly that we find a reference to his son Major George Robert Grand of the Madras Army who was insane. "The question naturally arises—was he a son of Madame Grand or not? There is no hint anywhere of a child being in existence at the time of the Francis scandal or subsequently. The puzzle only leaves the romance of Madame Grand more dramatic still." The Will also discloses the fact that Mr. Grand had two brothers in the Bengal Army and three sisters of whom Jane, who was married to Lt. John Peregrine Reed, was the second lunatic in the family.

3. *Original correspondence between the English and the Marathas—* by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

"The Maratha State Records including foreign correspondence from Shivaji's time were said to be preserved in Rayagad but they were destroyed by two great calamities. In 1690 the fortress was captured by Aurangzeb after the death of Sambhuji and the records were destroyed at that time. Again in 1818, the fortress was blown up by the victorious English on the fall of the Peshwas, when the remaining records were also burned. It may, therefore, be assumed that the original correspondence received by Shivaji perished thus and was lost to the world. The question still remains: What became of the Maratha outward correspondence?" It is just possible that they lie "buried among the heaps of old archives in London, Madras, and Calcutta." Research in this direction seems very desirable. This correspondence would supplement very substantially the materials already available in the Peshwa's Daftar, Poona, and the Bombay Secretariat, for the compilation of Maratha History.

Recent investigations made by Mr. Parasnis have convinced him that regular correspondence passed between the Peshwas and the foreign powers, viz., the English, French and Portuguese. The correspondence was both in English and Marathi. He mentions a number of such letters which have already been brought to light and quotes a few English letters. One of these is a letter from Peshwa Raghunath Rao to King George III, dated the 17th January 1783.

4 *The Genealogy of the Jagat Seths of Murshidabad by* Mr. P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L.

The Jagat Seths are a very well known family of Bengal. They are also the head of the Jain community in Bengal. The history and doings of the Jagat Seths appear in many published works, but a complete genealogical table of the family is not to be found anywhere. During his search for unpublished Jain inscriptions and manuscripts, buried in Bhandars or in the possession of private individuals, Mr. Nahar came across a "genealogical table with notices of the various members of this interesting family." In 1916 he completed the table, from the materials then available for publication in the late Mr. Little's proposed history of the family. Mr. Little having met

with an untimely death, the table could not be incorporated in his work. Mr. Nahar has since completed the genealogical table utilizing further information subsequently gathered by him.

5. *Old Judicial Records of the Calcutta High Court* by Mr. Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Keeper of Records, High Court, Calcutta.

Mr. Ahmad indicates briefly the nature of the records in the High Court and points to their importance from the point of view of history and sociology. The records of the two sides of the High Court are kept separate from one another. Those for the Appellate Side are in Mr. Ahmad's charge and they are well cared for. But those for the Original Side are not at present looked after in the manner they should be. He urged the necessity for their proper care as they would otherwise be lost beyond repair.

6. *Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins* by Mr. H. W. B. Moreno, B.A.

In this interesting paper Mr. Moreno traced the origin of the community now known as the Anglo-Indian community. The Anglo-Indians were first officially designated East-Indian and the first recorded attempt made by the members of the community to establish themselves as a separate entity occurred in 1825, when at a meeting held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, the term "East Indian" was favoured, and the East Indian Club was formed. "East Indian" was for some time the generally accepted term, but a change took place later in the nineteenth century, and by 1876 the community was officially described as "Eurasian" and an association formed in that year to represent the community was styled the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association. Towards the end of the century, the term Eurasian was dropped and the Association became the Anglo-Indian Association. This appellation caused endless confusion, owing to its being also applied to Britishers who had retired to England after long residence in India. The term was however officially adopted before the Census of 1911, as a result of the representations of the Anglo-Indian Empire League. Considering that the members of the community are descendants of various bands of European settlers who came to India, viz., Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, Prussians, French, Flemings and British, which is evident from their names, the appellation 'Anglo-Indian' is a misnomer. The more accurate designation should be Euro-Indian or Eurindian. Mr. Moreno also traced the life histories of some of the more prominent families of the community.

7. *The Last Will and Testament of Amir-ul-Omara Shaista Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, 1663-77 and 1679-89*, by Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Latif, B.L.

Shaista Khan was one of the most capable administrators under the Mughal rule. He served with distinction as Governor of many provinces, but his Viceroyalty of Bengal for nearly a quarter of a century, stands out prominently as one of exceptional brilliance. The history of his career is too well known and needs no repetition. His Last Will—a translation of which is given in his paper by Mr. Latif, was drawn up by Shaista Khan two years before his death

in 1696 A. D. with the object of setting at rest all possibilities of a quarrel among his progeny by distributing himself his properties among them during his own life time. "There are certain matters not yet chronicled by any historian to which this document gives us a clue. For example, the real name of his favourite daughter Bibi Pari, which was 'Iran Dukht,' has been found in this Will. It happily solves the question of identity of Bibi Biban, the lady who lies buried near the Hajiganj Mausoleum close to Narayanganj in the District of Dacca. Antiquarians have hitherto tried to theorise on the matter but in vain. It is, however, distinctly stated in this document that the tomb of Turan Dukht *alias* Bibi Biban, his daughter, lies in the Subah of Jahangirnagar on the bank of the Lakhya. The number of children he had and the *jaigirs* and other personal properties held by him in different parts of India can be gathered from this document. It has clear reference to seven sons, five daughters, one sister, two grandchildren, his father Asaf Khan and grandfather Itimad-ud-Dowla. Nawab Samsam-ud-Dowla Shah Nawaz Khan's famous biographical work, the 'Maasir-ul-Umara, the *magnum opus* which contains the lives of all noblemen, with any pretensions to importance during the Mughal period, gives particulars of only two sons (*viz.*, Iqadat Khan and Abul Fateh Khan) and two daughters who have been mentioned as wives of certain persons. Mr. Bradley-Birt in his *Romance of an Eastern Capital* written on the basis of the latest available materials, mentions 8 sons and 3 daughters. The will under review gives particulars of 7 sons and 5 daughters. It also discloses that he had married several wives, but it has not been possible to ascertain their names and particulars." The document has the seal of the Chief Judge (Qaizi-ul-Quzzat) at the top, showing that registration of deeds was among the functions of Qazis in those days.

8. *Dutch Records from the Dutch and British East India Companies Commission's of 1762-63 on their affairs in Bengal, by the*

Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J.

In this paper Father Hosten brings to the notice of the Commission the existence in Archbishop Goethals' Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, of a bundle of manuscript papers emanating from the Dutch Commission which in 1762-63 conferred at London with the British Commissaries of the East Indian Company about their difficulties created in Bengal by the Batavia armament of 1759. Archbishop Goethals acquired these papers between the years 1891 and 1894, but it is not known from what source they came. Some of the documents are in French and the others in Dutch. They consist of three portions (1) Letters received in Holland from the Dutch Commission, in London; (2) Copies of letters sent from Holland to the Dutch Commissaries in London and (3) Some detached papers from both sides. Father Hosten attaches an Index to these papers and considers that valuable materials for the history of the two Companies in Bengal at a most critical time would be forthcoming from them if they were properly scrutinised,

9. *Some aspects of the Revenue collection in Bengal immediately after the assumption of the Dewani* by Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., M.B.E.

In this interesting paper Mr. Ramsbotham elucidates some of the difficulties that confronted the Company's officers and agents in collecting the revenue of Bengal.

10. *Some unpublished Records in connection with the capture of Rohtas in 1764* by Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

A very interesting paper based on some unpublished records.

11. A few words about my *Notes on the Early History of Manipur* may not prove uninteresting to the readers. The history of Manipur will be found in Gait's *History of Assam*, Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*, Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Johnstone's *My Experience in the Naga Hills and Manipur* and Brown's *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*. But the early history of the country remains more or less obscure. Official documents recently traced in the Imperial Record Department furnished interesting information about the country which does not appear to have been utilized by any historian before. These notes give a history of the country during the early period, particularly of the time of its first Hindu King, who was originally a Naga. The first diplomatic relations between the Manipuris and the British, the first treaty—offensive and defensive—entered into between them and the possibility of trade between India and China are subjects which are for the first time discussed in this paper.

The Members meeting was held on the 13th January in the Secretary's room. The subjects considered by the Commission and the Resolutions passed on them are now under the consideration of the Government of India. They will be printed later in the official proceedings of the Commission.

THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

A special feature of the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, as has been mentioned above, was an Exhibition of documents, paintings and other objects of historical interest. We give below a description of some of the more important exhibits without which no account of the meeting can be complete.

Among the exhibits were a number of documents of historical importance obtained mainly from the Government archives in Calcutta, viz., Imperial Record Department, the Bengal Record Room, the Calcutta High Court and the Sheriff's Office, while public bodies and private individuals exhibited old interesting manuscripts, valuable pictures and other historical relics.

Of the manuscript documents exhibited by the Imperial Record Department special mention may be made of the notes and minutes in which the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck and the members of his Council (of whom the Hon. T. B. afterwards Lord Macaulay was one) discussed the question of promoting European literature and science among the natives of India in 1835, and the minute which the next Governor-General Lord Auckland recorded

on the subject of native education in 1839, the holographs of Lord Clive, the treaty of 1845 with King Christian VIII of Denmark which transferred the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, a letter written in 1773 by Warren Hastings to the Council at Calcutta intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh in consideration for a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees, the *farmans* and *sanads* granted to the East India Company by the Mughal Emperors dating from 1633 and including those by which the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was conferred upon the Company in 1765 and the original Persian letters received from Indian Princes, Chiefs and Nobles, which apart from their historical importance represented fine specimens of calligraphy. Among these letters we find a report from the Muhammadan Judge at Benares notifying the release of the blind Emperor Shah Alam from the custody of his oppressor Ghulam Qadir Khan, negotiations by Tipu Sultan for a treaty of peace with the English, a letter of gratitude from the Maharaja of Mysore on being restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by Haider Ali. The visitors evinced a great deal of interest in the old maps of Calcutta and Fort William, while the seals belonging to Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, his sons and officers, attracted much attention.

Side by side with some old and worn out books exhibited by Mr. J. A. Chapman of the Imperial Library as instances of the decaying influence of the Indian climate on paper, the Imperial Record Department demonstrated how the old brittle records of the East India Company had been kept in a state of perfect preservation by a special process of repairing adopted by it and by the proper use of insecticides which kept away termites and other insects. Unfortunately these methods were not introduced sufficiently early but only after some injury had been done to the records by climatic influences. Experience shows that paper, once it has become brittle, keeps well in a moist atmosphere while very dry weather has a tendency to bend or break it.

The exhibits kindly lent by the Government of Bengal comprised the original minutes by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore regarding the permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (1789-90), a joint minute by Warren Hastings, Governor-General and Richard Barwell, one of his councillors, on the conduct of W. M. Thackeray, father of Thackeray, the novelist, while Collector of Sylhet (1773), and a number of original *Qistbundis*, *Qabuliats* and other documents in which figured the ancestors of some of the leading *zamindars* in Bengal, e.g. Krishna Kanta Nandi (commonly called Kanto Babu), the well-known Banian of Warren Hastings and founder of the Kasimbazar Raj family, Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur of Burdwan, Maharani Bhawani of Natore, Maharajadhiraj Shib Chandra Bahadur of Nadia. Among the exhibits of the Calcutta High Court the papers relating to the trial of the confederates of Nabob Wazir Ali of Benares (1800), the trial of Mirza Jan *Tapish*, the famous Urdu poet, for conspiracy against the East India Company (1800) were the most important.

Some of the exhibits of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad were of great historical value and dated as far back as 1590. The following were the more

important ones :—Scenes from Vishnupur (Bankura), Brindaban, pictures of the days of Raja Ram Chandra, deeds and documents of great antiquity, Sanskrit texts and Treatises, early numbers of printed Bengali books and periodicals dating from 1778.

A fine collection of architectural paintings including 'A tomb at Jaunpur,' 'Gate at the Fort, Benares,' 'A mosque at Jaunpur,' was exhibited by Mr. R. Chanda of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum.

The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad very kindly lent a rare album of portraits of Ghori Kings prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jehan which was greatly admired by the visitors. The exhibits from the Maharaja of Nadia included the following :—*Farman* from Emperor Jehangir conferring the office of Chaudhuri and Qanungo on Bhattanand Chaudhuri for certain *perganas*, sword presented by Lord Clive to Krishna Chandra with the title 'Maharajendra Bahadur,' the jewelled *Katar* (Dagger) presented by Emperor Jehangir to Maharaja Bhabanand Majumdar. The Raja Bahadur of Nashipur exhibited an old manuscript copy of the Mahabharata written in Deva Nagri characters. Sahibzada Ghulam Husain Shah of the Mysore family kindly lent a sword said to have belonged to Timur which had the following inscription engraved on the blade :—"In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. The hand of God is above their hands. The irresistible sword, the enemy-killer, the victorious, the sword of the king of the kings, the monarch of the monarchs, the Sultan Sahib Qiran, His Majesty Amir Timur. May God perpetuate his kingdom and Empire!" This sword was one of the principal items of attraction at the Exhibition.

Babu Bahadur Singh Singhi's exhibits included the following old valuable family jewels :—An emerald seal of Seth Sumar Chand; an emerald seal of Jagat Seth Kushal Chand and an emerald seal of Rai Hulash Chand, presented by Bahadur Shah the last Emperor of Delhi to Rai Hulash Chand, great grandfather of the Exhibitor on the occasion of conferring the title 'Rai' upon him.

Some fine paintings were exhibited by Mr. A. Stephen. He also lent some historical silverware said to have belonged to the time of Prithiraj and Jehangir. Rai Bahadur M. L. Nahar exhibited some excellent historical pictures. Mr. P. C. Nahar's collection of pictures was unsurpassed in beauty and variety. The *Nauratan* (nine jewels) showing Akbar with his Courtiers was greatly admired. His other exhibits, which aroused a great deal of interest, were the Jain Scrolls and a book on Indian microcosm. Among the documents shown were a *farman* bearing the seal of Emperor Akbar granted to Bhagwan and confirming him in the office of Qanungo for the province of Bengal on 30th September 1591.

Rev. H. Hosten, S. J. exhibited some interesting photographs of pre-Portuguese Christian relics in India, Ceylon, Burma and China.

The session was throughout of an intensely interesting character, and several of those present unhesitatingly declared it to be the most successful of all the meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Company's "Commercial Residents."

A STUDY of the biographical notes appended to the first volume of the Register of Admissions to the College at Fort William, which was printed in the last issue of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 122 to 133), will show that several of the civilians mentioned therein ended their career as "Commercial Residents" at various places such as Patna, Maldah, Cossimbazar, Rungpore, (Rampore) Bauleah, Lukhipore, Comercolly, Santipore, Soonamooky, Radhanagore, Keerpoy, Hurripaul, Golagore, Jungypore, and Surdah.

The first five "factories" stand in no need of identification. A few notes with regard to the others may be of interest. Lukhipore (Lakshmipur) in the Noakhali district is still a busy mart: a cloth factory was established there by the East India Company in 1756. Comercolly (Kumarkhali) is near Kushtia in the Nadia district. Santipore is also in the Nadia district, some sixty miles above Calcutta. It is still a trading town and was the site of one of the principal factories of the company. "The industry of the ages had brought its muslins to the highest degree of perfection," says Thomas Twining, who was deputy to the Commercial Resident in 1794. Tantees (he tells us) wove the fine muslins, and Ruffnagurs "finished" them. Soonamooky (Sonamukhi) in the Bankura district is now a centre of the shellac industry. Keerpoy (Khirpai) and Radhanagore are in the Midnapore district, the former near Ghatal. Hurripaul (Haripal) is a village close to the Hindu shrine of Tarakeswar in the Hooghly district. Golagore (Golaghur) is in the same district near the "Moggura" of Rennell's map (Magra) where the manufacture of cotton colths is recorded as early as 1755. Jungypore (where the Company had a flourishing silk factory) is nowadays the headquarters of a subdivision in the Moorshidabad district. Lastly, Surdah is in the Rajshahye district: the old Residency building here is occupied by the Police Training School.

What were these "Commercial Residencies"? We shall find a clue in Miss Emma Roberts's "East India Voyager" (written in 1839 but published in London in 1845) where information is given by "a gentlemen who has served during a period of fourteen years with the highest credit to himself, as a Judge and Magistrate."

There are only three distinctions as to the line of service—the political, the judicial and revenue, and the commercial. In former days, when the East India Company was a trading corporation, there were many rich and valuable appointments called Commercial Agencies, the officers holding which superintended the advances made to the cultivators of cotton and persons employed in the production of silk, and in due season received the produce and remitted it to Calcutta. The magnitude of the Government interests en-

trusted to these commercial agents, and the sums of money which they had at their disposal, rendered, I presume, these offices of high trust, for they used to be highest in remuneration of the whole service. Yet it seems singular that this should have been so, as the work was most easy and the labour little. The agent had a fine mansion allowed him, he had little trouble in going about to visit his district, and his business was confined to looking over accounts, signing papers, and adjusting petty differences between cultivators: while the real details of the office were conducted by his head officer or *dewan*. . . . Consequently these offices, with much pay and little work, were prizes given to individuals who had good interest, and in this line were made many of those large and princely fortunes which used to astonish the people of England.

THE "KOTHIES" AT SURUL, IN BEERBHOOM.

A good example of the residences in which these Commercial Agents or Residents lived is afforded by the "Kothies" at Surul, near Bolpur, in the district of Beerbhoom. Mr. S. Sinha, Revenue Secretary of the Burdwan Raj, has favoured us with some interesting particulars of these "Kothies."

The "Burra Kothi," which is in a dilapidated condition and stands on the Burdwan-Suri road, in its own grounds of some eighty acres, is distinguished by a white marble tablet (twenty-four inches by eighteen) which is affixed to the western wall and bears the following inscription:

Here Resided
At the end of the 18th Century
Mr. Cheap
The First Commercial Resident
at Surul.

He was highly regarded by the People.

With the history of the Burra Kothi, where a thousand and one looms were once busy weaving *garas* and other cotton and silk piece-goods, is associated the name of the Sinha family of Raipur, of which Lord Sinha is now the head. Baboo Shyam Kishor Sinha, the founder of the family, was the *dewan* of the factory, and used to receive Rs. 1,001 daily from the weavers whom he brought from his native village of Chandrakona. The hand woven *garas* produced by these weavers were dyed blue and sent to England for use in military and naval uniforms.

The Chota Kothi, which was formerly the property of Lord Sinha and is now owned by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, was a sugar factory in the days of the Company. At a later date it was converted by the East India Company into a small railway workshop, which was the nucleus of the present vast organization at Jamalpur. It was known at that time as "Wilson's Kothi," from a gentleman of that name on the Engineering Staff of the Railway.

JOHN CHEAP.

There is a good deal about John Cheap in Sir William Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, a book which was originally written in 1868, as the dedication to Sir Cecil Beadon shows. Perhaps the best account is that which is given by Ram Ghulam Bawarchi who at the age of eighty was questioned by the author as to his recollections of the district from 1785 to 1820. The "Cook's Chronicle" is as follows :

The first English lord of Beerbhoom was Keating Saheb (Christopher Keating, Collector from 1788 to 1793) : my father was cook to him, and I have seen him. My mother held me up in her arms to look at him when he passed with his sepoy and elephants. . . . I also knew Cheap Saheb. My father went to be his cook when Keating Saheb left. Cheap Saheb was the Company's merchant. He had a great house on the top of a hill, with a wall all round, higher than the ramparts round the fort in Calcutta. Within the wall were gardens and orchards bearing many fruits : also many houses and stores. The Company's cloth was kept there : and the gomastahs and keranies lived in a village within the wall. There were also sepoy to guard the Company's storehouses : and the inferior servants of the Company lived in a town at the bottom of the hill. Cheap Saheb was a rich and powerful Saheb : he had many children, mostly daughters, each of whom had servants of their own. There were six table servants to wait on Cheap Saheb and the Mem Saheb. He had about sixty house-servants in all, with many horses, and an aviary full of strange birds. Deer used to run about in the pleasure-grounds. The Mem Saheb used to be very fond of flowers. He was a great Saheb and I learned my trade in his kitchen.

Afterwards there was a gentleman at Elumbazar, on the river, Erskine Saheb, who died not many years ago. He also was a great Saheb, and was in partnership with Cheap Saheb. They traded in many things—in cloth, sugar, silk, etc.—and made much money.

According to Hunter, the sum spent upon the mercantile investment in Beerbhoom varied from £45,000 to £65,000 a year. The Commercial Resident was the real head of the district. He was of longer standing in the service than the Collector and less liable to be transferred : and besides his official pay, he had a large private income, for he was permitted to carry on an extensive business on his own account.

We find Mr. Keating complaining that he can barely subsist on his salary : that the mud tenement in which the Collector lived was letting in water, and tumbling upon his head; and petitioning in vain for a single rood of land on which to build a house. Mr. Cheap, on the other hand, not only made a fortune, and bequeathed the largest indigo plantations in that part of Bengal, but meanwhile lived sumptuously in a pile of buildings surrounded by artificial lakes and spacious gardens, and defended by a strong wall. The ruins crown

the top of a hill visible for many miles, and cover as large a space as the palaces, pavilions, and mausoleums which the princes of Beerbhoom had erected during one hundred years. For nearly a quarter of a century he remained in his palace at Soorool, a visible type of the wealth, magnificence and permanence of the great Company.

The "first attack upon these fat kine" was made, says the informant of Miss Emma Roberts, by "the clipping Dutchman," Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General from 1828 to 1835), who "wisely made friends to himself of the Mammon of Leadenhall Street" by "cutting down all salaries save his own enormous stipend." Nevertheless, they continued to be snug berths until the arrival of the "now Charter" [of 1833] which abolished trading by the Company, except in the case of salt and opium. The Company's commercial concerns were wound up gradually by the Board of Salt, Customs, and Opium, and the buildings and sites were nearly all sold off. "Now" that is to say in 1839, "two or three alone remain." They are "well paid and lucrative appointments but no sinecures, and are usually held by persons high up in the service."

THE COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS.

Another branch of the Company's Commercial Service was concerned with the collection of inland customs. At one time there were fifteen of these collectors statione in the largest towns of India. The system led to much abuse: and it was eventually abolished as the result of a pamphlet published by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Trevelyan, the brother-in-law of Macaulay (who served in the Bengal Civil Service from 1826 to 1842). Two posts alone were retained, the one connected with import and export customs at Calcutta, and the other for the collection of frontier duties in Upper India. Both Commercial Residents and Collectors of Customs continued to draw large emoluments: but the old opportunities for shaking the pagoda tree were gone.

SOME TYPICAL EXAMPLES.

An excellent example of the "commercial civilian" is exhibited by William Bracken whose portrait, executed on a heroic scale by one Kroomholtz, hangs in the Collector's room in the Calcutta Customs House. Bracken arrived in Bengal on June 10, 1827, and commenced his service on February 7, 1828, as Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Trade. In August of that year he acted as Import Warehouse Keeper, and in November, was sent as officiating Commercial Resident to Jungypore, where he remained a year. He then returned to Calcutta and acted as Deputy Collector of Inland Customs. From 1830 to 1832 he officiated as Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar, Jungypore, and Surdah. The remainder of his service until his retirement on annuity in 1857, was spent in the Customs House at the Presidency. He became acting Collector of Customs in 1837, and held that office for twenty years. His death took place as recently as September 16, 1891. An uneventful career was his: and very unlike that of the civilian on the judicial or executive side,

A similar case is that of Charles Chicheley Hyde, whose service extended from 1811 to 1838. From 1813 to 1819 he was attached to the office of the Export Warehouse Keeper : and from 1819 to 1835 (with an interval of five years, from 1824 to 1829, which he spent in Europe) was Commercial Resident successively at Comercolly (1819), Surdah (1820-24), Jungypore (1829-31), Santipore (1831) and Bauleah (1832-35). He then became Collector of Government Customs at the Presidency, and was Salt Agent of the 24 Pergunnahs and Jessore when he retired on annuity on August 6, 1838. His cognomen of Chicheley would appear to denote some form of connexion with the Plowden family. One member of that family, Richard Chicheley Plowden, was a Director from 1803 to 1829, and died in 1830 : and another, William Henry Chicheley Plowden, was a Member of the Court from 1841 to 1853, and died in 1880. It may have been from the former that Hyde obtained his nomination, and secured the diversion of his Indian career into the profitable paths of semi-official commerce.

Among the "commercial civilians" of note was Colin Shakespear (writer 1790) who was appointed Commercial Resident at Soonamooky on April 24, 1828, and died at Berhampore on April 6, 1835. From April 19, 1823, to March 6, 1828, he was "Superintendent General of the Shakespearian Rope Bridges," a post specially created for him. These bridges are mentioned by Heber in his Journal (vol. i. p. 83.) "In passing Cossipoor," writes the bishop, "on my return to Tittyghur, I called on Mr. C. Shakespear, and looked at his rope bridges, which are likely to be most useful, in this country at least, if not in Europe. . . The whole may be made to rest on sat timbers, and, with the complete apparatus of cordage, iron, and bamboos, may be taken to pieces and set up again in a few hours, and removed from place to place by the aid of a few camels and elephants." Describing a bridge of this type, thrown over the Caramnasa, he says : "The span of this bridge, which is strong enough to bear a field piece, is three hundred and twenty feet in length, its breadth eight : its flooring composed of stout bamboos, connected by coir rope, with a network handrail on either side, also of coir, as are the shrouds and principal tackling which support the whole." The late Dr. C. R. Wilson (in his List of Monumental inscriptions in Bengal) advances the theory that Colin Shakespear was a cousin of the author of "Vanity Fair" and the original of Jos Sedley. But Shakespear commenced his service in Bengal in 1790, and was sixty four at the time of his death in 1835. This would carry the date of his birth back to 1771, which was about the time of the marriage of "Sylhet" Thackeray to Amelia Webb. The novelist was born in Calcutta in 1811 : and his first cousins who were the children of "Sylhet" Thackeray's daughter Emily, and John Talbot Shakespear (Col. Sir Richmond Shakespear and others) were far younger than Colin Shakespear.

The Editors' Note Book.

THE creation of an Irish Free State has involved, by a crooked destiny, the disappearance from the Army List of six historic battalions which, though provided with Irish titles under the system of territorial nomenclature, are closely associated with the history of the British in India. The connection of the disbanded regiments with Ireland is, indeed, of the faintest character: for they are the direct representatives of the "Company's Europeans", without whom it is safe to say that there would be no British Empire in India. When the Government of India was taken over by the Crown, there were nine regiments of Europeans in the service of "John Company" and these were absorbed into the infantry of the line under the following numbers, the modern designation being added in each case:

Royal Bengal Fusiliers: 101st Foot (1st batt. Royal Munster Fusiliers).
 Royal Madras Fusiliers: 102nd Foot (1st batt. Royal Dublin Fusiliers).
 Royal Bombay Fusiliers: 103rd Foot (2nd batt. Royal Dublin Fusiliers).
 2nd Bengal Europeans: 104th Foot (2nd batt. Royal Munster Fusiliers).
 2nd Madras Europeans: 105th Foot (2nd batt. King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry).
 2nd Bombay Europeans: 106th Foot (2nd batt. Durham Light Infantry).
 3rd Bengal Europeans: 107th Foot (2nd batt. Royal Sussex Regiment).
 3rd Madras Europeans: 108th Foot (2nd batt. Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers).
 3rd Bombay Europeans: 109th Foot (2nd batt. Leinster Regiment).

Of these the 2nd Madras Europeans, the 2nd Bombay Europeans, and the 3rd Bengal Europeans, alone survive, by reason of the accident which has attached them to English County Regiments: and all are of comparatively modern origin. The traditions of the past are buried with the battalions which have been mustered out.

"LET us praise famous men." So runs the time-honoured invocation at the University Sermon at Oxford. And herein more especially are we "Bengallers" bound to commemorate the doughty deeds of the Munster Fusiliers. Is there any regiment in the British Service (barring the Dublins) which can boast such an array of battles on its colours?

Plassey, Condore, Masulipatam, Badara, Buxar, Rohilcund 1774, Sholinghur, Carnatic, Rohilcund 1794, Guzerat, Deig, Bhurtpore, Ghuznee 1839, Afghanistan 1839, Ferozeshah, Chillianwallah, Goojerat, Punjaub, Pegu, Delhi 1857, Lucknow, Burma 1885—1887, South Africa, 1899—1902.

The record of the Dublins (Clive's Own) is equally glorious :

A Royal Tiger superscribed Plassey. Buxar with the legend "Spectemur Agendo". The Elephant superscribed "Carnatic".

Arcot, Wandewash, Pondicherry, Guzerat, Sholinghur, Nundydroog, Amboyna, Ternate, Banda, Seringapatam, Kirkee, Maheedpore, Beni Boo Alli, Ava, Aden, Mooltan, Goojerat, Punjaub, Pegu, Lucknow, Relief of Ladysmith, South Africa 1899—1902.

Could there be a terser epitome of the rise of the British power in India during the last century and a half? And what shall be said of the further laurels won in the Great War—the landing at Gallipoli in which both Munsters and Dublins gained imperishable renown, and the desperate stand at Etreux during the retreat from Mons, when the Second Munsters, surrounded and almost annihilated, fought to the last against overwhelming odds?

THE history of the Bengal Fusiliers dates back to the year 1652, when an Ensign and thirty men were sent out from England for the protection of the British factory at Hooghly, The "Dirty Shirts." in days when Job Charnock had not yet cast his eye upon the village of Suttanuttee. By 1756 the thirty men had grown to four companies: and after the arrival of Clive from Madras to recapture the settlement at Fort William, the remnants of these companies together with any Europeans which could be collected, were formed into a battalion which became the Bengal European Regiment and later the Royal Bengal Fusiliers. They fought with the Madras Europeans at Plassey and routed Shah Alum at Buxar. These are famous battles: but how many have heard of the equally brilliant campaign in 1763 under Major Thomas Adams against Meer Cossim, which culminated in the great fight at Oodwa Nullah? With Francis Forde, another forgotten leader who deserves a better fate, they beat the French at Condore and Masulipatam in the Northern Circars and routed the Dutch at Badara, or Biderra, near Chinsurah. Twice they took the field against the Rohillas, and helped Eyre Coote to beat Hyder Ali at Sholinghur. Their next adversaries were the Mahrattas: and they played a full part under Lake in the battle of Deig, when the British troops under continuous cross artillery fire captured four lines of batteries in succession by frontal attacks. They suffered heavily in the four unsuccessful assaults on Bhurtpore in 1805, but earned from Lake the title of the "Dirty Shirts" to which they always clung. Later on in 1826 under Stapleton Cotton, they took their revenge and carried the impregnable fortress by storm. In the First Afghan War, they marched with Keane to Candahar and back to India by way of Ghuznee. With Gough they went through the first Sutlej campaign and ended it as a remnant of 200 men.

THE 2nd Bengal Europeans came into being in 1839 and saw their first great action at the bloody battle of Chillianwallah, and later on at Goojerat, where a real victory was won. Space forbids to speak of the deeds of both regiments during the Mutiny: but this at least must be chronicled. At the time of the Umbeyla Expedition of 1863, the colonel of the Second was Abraham Roberts, the father of "Bobs Bahadur." The colours of these gallant regiments are now in the custody of His Majesty: their trophies are lodged with the United Service Institution in London: and their place in the Army List knows them no more. But their fame endureth for ever.

A FORMER officer of the Munsters informs us that most of the regimental plate dates from the days of the Company. Together with the mess furniture and certain prints of the Mutiny period, this has been placed in the Regimental Club in Whitehall Court. One of the most historic relics is the Drum Major's staff, the head of which was made from a champagne bottle opened after the battle of Chillianwallah by the only two officers who survived. The two older sets of colours, of which one was used by the Bengal Fusiliers, have been sent, one to the Royal Hibernian Academy, and the other to the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster.

THE only King's regiment which is now entitled to blazon the word "Plassey" on its colours is the Dorset Regiment. The first battalion which was formerly the 39th Foot and was originally known as Adlercron's regiment, from the name of its commander, landed at Fort Saint George in January, 1756—"Primus in Indis," as the proud motto still testifies. It had been brought out from England on board the fleet which Admirals Charles Watson and George Pocock had been ordered to take to the Coromandel coast in anticipation of hostilities with the French. The ships had been diverted to the Bombay coast where they had assisted Clive in the reduction of Gheriah the stronghold of the Mahratta pirate Angria: but had returned to Madras and were lying in the roads when the news was received on August 16, 1756 of the capture of Fort William and the tragedy of the Black Hole. Adlercron's regiment was being kept in readiness to march against Bussy who had established himself with a French garrison near Hyderabad. The bad news from Bengal altered their destination and they sailed for the Sandheads on October 16. On January 2, 1757, Calcutta once more fell into the hands of the English. Chandernagore was attacked and Fort Orleans captured on March 22, after a nine days' siege: and on the

morning of June 23, came the final overthrow of Seraj-ud-dowla at Plassey. The most efficient portion of the Nawab's force was a small party of forty or fifty French gunners commanded by M. St. Frais, or Sinfrey. Two of the cannon from their battery may be seen to-day in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

ALTHOUGH Lord Ronaldshay has called his new book "The Land of the Thunderbolt," its pages are not exclusively devoted to Sikkim and Bhutan. He has also something to say about the Bengal jungle : and of the way in which, on the outskirts of the ancient city of Moorshedabad, the forest has completely swallowed up the artillery park of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. One huge cannon (he notes), seventeen and a half feet in length, and five feet in circumference, and weighing seven and a half tons, is left embedded in the trunk of a peepul tree which has wrapped itself about it. "With such examples before one's eyes one realises why there are few historic buildings in Bengal."

INDIA is nevertheless, full of romance. It lurks even in the pages of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, as witness the following extract which may be found under the unpromising heading of Ichhawar, a town of four thousand odd inhabitants in Central India, which has formed part of the Bhopal State since 1818 :—

The Ichhawar *tahsil* was for many years held in *jagir* by the Bhopal Bourbons, who have given a succession of shrewd councillors and valiant soldiers to the State. About 1560 Jear. Philippe Bourbon of Navarre, a cousin of Henry IV, came to India. He entered the service of Akbar, married Juliana, said to have been a sister of Akbar's 'Christian wife,' and was created a Nawab. The family continued in the service of the Delhi emperors till 1739, when on the sack of that city by Nadir Shah, they fled to the fort of Shergarh which they held in *jagir* in the territory of the Narwar chief. The family remained in Narwar in safety till 1778, when the Raja, who was jealous of his powerful feudatory, attacked Shergarh and massacred all but four of the family, who managed to escape to Gwalior. After the capture of Gwalior in 1780 by Major Popham, some territory was assigned to them, and soon after Salvador Bourbon took service in the Bhopal State, and became a general in the State army. Salvador's son Balthasar was minister to Wazir Muhammad, and was instrumental in concluding the treaty of 1818 with the British Government, being one of the signatories. During the Mutiny of 1857 the fugitives from Agar were hospitably received by Jean de Silva and several of the Bourbon family who were then residing in the town. Members of the family still live in the State.

The Filose family in the Gwalior State, who are of Neapolitan extraction, furnish another example of the Indianized foreign adventurer: but they are of humble origin. Jean Baptiste Filose, known as Jan Batteejis, served Scindia for no less than forty-seven years, and was commander-in-chief in 1843, at the time of the battles of Maharajpore and Punnar—commemorated by the well-known "Pepper Box" on the Strand Road, outside the Water Gate of Fort William. As he had £40,000 invested in Company's paper, he arranged that he should be locked up by his own men before the fighting with the British began!

MR. ALFRED SPENCER, the editor, and Messrs. Hurst and Blackett, the publishers, of the "The Memoirs of William Hickey" are anxious to trace a portrait of that entertaining individual which, according to his own account, was painted by George Chinnery at Calcutta in February, 1808. It was, says Hickey, presented by the artist to Sir Henry Russell, the uncle of Rose Aylmer, who was Chief Justice of Bengal from 1806 to 1813: and "hung in Russell's dining room in the Court House at Calcutta." The phraseology is peculiar: for Russell did not reside at the Court House. When still a puisne judge, he built the first house in the street which bears his name and was living there when Rose Aylmer was carried in March 1800 from its gates to her grave in the South Park Street cemetery. Tradition assigns the site to the one now occupied by the large house and compound which constitute the headquarters of the Royal Calcutta Turf Club. It was thought by the present writer that Hickey might be alluding to the Chief Justice's private room in the old Supreme Court building which stood in Esplanade West on the same spot as the present High Court: but no such picture is to be found either in the private room now allotted to the Chief Justice of Bengal or anywhere else on the High Court premises. A search in the Victoria Memorial Hall has been equally unsuccessful. The portrait does not appear to have been taken to England by Sir Henry Russell, for the present Lady Russell knows nothing of it. Can any member of the Society throw a light upon the mystery?

It is curious that no portrait should yet have been discovered of the author of these extraordinarily interesting memoirs: for in the second volume which was published in 1818, a most circumstantial account is given (p. 386) of another picture which was painted at Lisbon in 1782 by "Mr. Thomas Hickey a portrait painter with whom my family had been acquainted and done him some service in his profession, but I had never before seen or heard of him." William Hickey and Charlotte Barry, a fair companion of his whom he afterwards married and who died in Calcutta on December 25, 1783, at the age of twenty-one, were waiting in Lisbon for a ship to take them to Bengal, and they eventually obtained a passage in the *Reinha de Portugal*, a vessel

belonging to Luis Barretto, a brother of Joseph Barretto of Calcutta. They sailed on June 23, 1782. Thomas Hickey is stated to have twice painted his namesake William "making an admirable representation of me." One copy was sent to William Hickey's sister in London and the other remained with Charlotte, and was presumably taken out to India. Both these pictures have likewise disappeared.

WE have already (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 97) given some account of Chinnery. Thomas Hickey was born about 1760 in Dublin and after studying at the Royal Hibernian Academy's School and in Rome, practised in London as a portrait painter. There are (or were) portraits by him of the first Marquess Townshend (1769) and of the fourth Duke of Bedford in the Dublin Mansion House; and his portrait of Mrs. Abington the actress hangs on the walls of the Garrick Club building in London. With another artist, William Alexander, he accompanied Lord Macartney's mission to China (1792-1794); and a drawing by him of a Chinese scene is in the print room at the British Museum. He also went to India and resided there until his death in 1822; but the date of his arrival is uncertain. It is thought by some that he was the author of "The History of Painting and Sculpture from the Earliest Accotants" of which only the first volume was published at Calcutta in 1788. He painted in 1801, either at Seringapatam or at Vellore, a series of portraits of the family of Tippoo Sultan, which were formerly at Government House, Calcutta. They were brought there from Barrackpore by Lord Dufferin and are now at Belvedere. In October 1799 he announced that he had undertaken to paint seven pictures in connection with the capture of Seringapatam: the subjects being: the storming of the breach at Seringapatam, the interview with the Princes in the Palace, the finding of Tippoo's body, the first interview of the Commissioners of Mysore with the family of the Rajah, the funeral of Tippoo, the reception of Lieutenant Harris with the colours of Tippoo at Fort Saint George, and the placing of the Rajah on the Musnud of Mysore. It was also stated that engravings of these pictures would be executed by eminent artists in London. But the well known pictures of the assault and taking of Seringapatam and the discovery of the body of Tippoo are by other artists such as Sir Robert Ker Porter (1780-1842) and Sir David Wilkie. Finally, on May 4, 1800, the first anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam, a full length portrait of the Earl of Mornington (Lord Wellesley) which had been painted by Hickey at the request of the principal inhabitants of Madras, was exhibited at the Exchange. He was still in the Southern Presidency in 1916, for his portrait of Colonel Colin Mackenzie (Surveyor General at Madras from 1810 to 1916 and at Calcutta from 1816 to 1821) which is now at the India Office, was painted in that year at Madras.

A CORRESPONDENT writes : In the account of Major John Scott Waring, the agent of Warren Hastings in England, which is given in the article on *The Farington Diary* in the last issue of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 14, 15), there is an omission (which is no doubt accidental) to state that Waring's second son died in Calcutta, when acting as Adjutant of the Bodyguard to the first Lord Minto, and is buried in South Park Street cemetery. According to the *Bengal Obituary* (p. 98) the tomb bears the following inscription :—

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus Tam cari capitis. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant CHARLES SCOTT WARING Adjutant to the Bodyguard of The Right Honorable the Governor-General Obiit 2nd February 1813. Aetat. 26. His cheerful disposition, conciliatory manners and unaffected simplicity of character Endearred him to his relatives and friends and acquired him the regard of all who knew him, while his conduct in his profession obtained him the public applause, And private regard of his noble patron; who represented him most where he was emulous of being known, as a youth of the first promise. Past are those hopes, closed are those views which promised to realize his moderate desires and which opening bright prospects to his relatives and friends: now spread a deeper gloom over his sad loss.

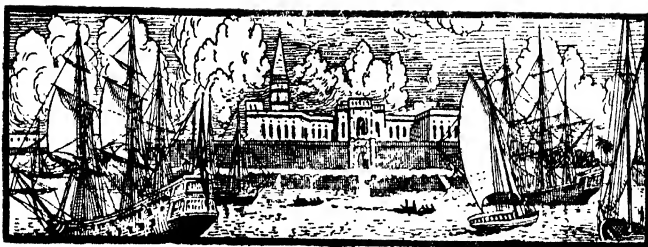
MR. WILLIAM FOSTER writes : In the interesting notes on the Farington Diary (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV., p. 37) it is suggested that the strangely-named Catherine Hampden Hoppner, who was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1804 to 1821, was a son of John Hoppner, R.A., the well-known portrait painter. On looking up the Writers' Petitions I find that the surmise is correct. The papers concerning his appointment show that he was born on April 24, 1784, and baptized on May 24 following at St. James's, Westminster, his parents being John and Phebe Hoppner. He was nominated as a writer by Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (Director of the Company from 1789 to 1812, and father of Lord Metcalfe) at the instance of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, who was then (1803) Prime Minister.

SOME extracts were given in the last volume of *Bengal Past and Present* (vol. XXIV, pp. 97—102) from the Letters of Sir Edward Paget, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1822 to 1825. There hangs at the Town Hall in the room of the Secretary to the Bengal Legislative Council a beautifully painted portrait of Dr. William Twining, who accompanied Sir Edward Paget to Calcutta as his personal surgeon and in 1824 exchanged from the King's to the Company's service and became an assistant surgeon on the Bengal establish-

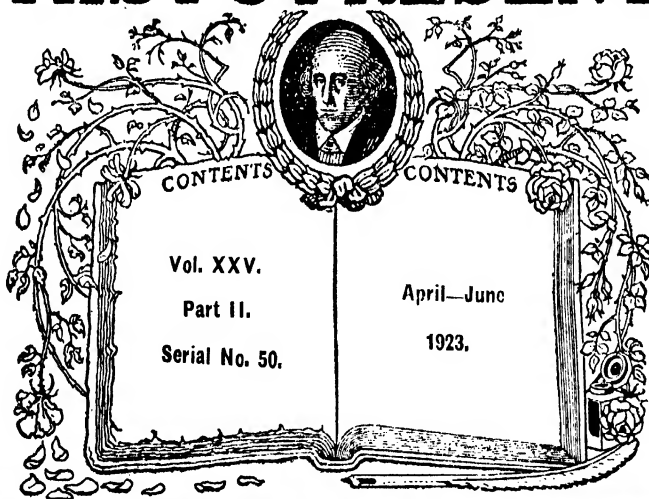
ment. He was appointed first permanent assistant medical officer at the General Hospital and held the post until his death on August 25, 1835 at the age of 45, enjoying an enormous private practice. Twining's early career was of a distinguished character. He served when a young man as hospital assistant under the Duke of Wellington and went through the whole of the Peninsular War. In March 1804 he was promoted to be staff assistant surgeon, and entered Paris with the allied army as a member of Lord Hill's staff. He was present at Waterloo; and when Sir Edward Paget was appointed Governor of Ceylon in 1821, he went out with him as his medical attendant. The inscription on the picture in the Town Hall records that it was presented by his daughter Lady Cleeve in 1913. A place should be found for this undeniable work of art in the Victoria Memorial Hall. There is a monument to Twining in St. John's Church.

IN Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor's "Memorials of St. James's Street" (1922, pp. 265, 266) allusion is made to the sale in the year of Queen Victoria's accession of two diamonds of historic interest. We read that on July 20, 1837, Messrs. J. G. and G. A. Sharp sold at Willis's Rooms by auction "By order of the Trustees appointed by His Majesty for the Collection and Distribution of the Deccan Booty" the famous Nassuck (Nasik) Diamond (weighing 357½ grains and of the purest water) which had been "captured by the combined armies under the command of the late Most Noble General The Marquis of Hastings, G.C.B." in the final campaign against the Mahrattas which ended in the surrender of the Peshwa, Baji Rao the Second, to Sir John Malcolm on June 3, 1818. The catalogue was illustrated by copper plates representing the various facts relating to this famous Diamond as well as other valuable jewels formerly in the possession of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, Joseph Bonaparte, and the Sultan Selim. Together with the Nassuck Diamond were disposed of "By order of the Exors of the late Mr. Bridge of Ludgate Hill, the Celebrated Arcot Diamonds which were formerly sold by the direction of the Exors of Her late Majesty, Queen Charlotte." These were the famous stones (says Mr. Chancellor) which Warren Hastings on his return to England in 1785, presented to Queen Charlotte and which were supposed to have influenced her Majesty in receiving Mrs. Hastings. At the Queen's death they had been purchased by Bridge the jeweller. What has happened to these diamonds? Do they adorn the tiara of some "dollar queen" in New York or Chicago?

The "Arcot Diamonds" and the "Nassuck Diamond."



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THOMAS AND WILLIAM DANIELL :
BY ROBERT HCVIE.

(From the Picture in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

Robert Home's Portrait of Thomas and William Daniell.

MENTION was made in Part I of this volume (p. 3) of a portrait by Robert Home of Thomas and William Daniell which forms part of the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It hangs over a doorway on the top of the main staircase of the building occupied by the Society in Park Street, and has, we believe, never before been reproduced. The Council of the Society have, however, been good enough to permit a photograph to be taken of the picture by Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., the Principal of the Calcutta School of Art (to whom an expression of gratitude is also due): and the result may be seen on the opposite page. The painting is thus described by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson in his "Descriptive Catalogue" (1897):

"The younger Daniell—William—reclines in an easy attitude in a wide chair. His left leg is crossed over his right. His cheek rests on his left hand, his left elbow on the arm of the chair. His right forearm is supported by the top of a closed book placed upright in his lap. The right hand drooping over the edge of the top of the book holds a crayon. He wears a black coat thrown open, showing a white shirt without any collar, and yellow breeches. The face clean shaven, with light brown hair, looks to the left of the spectator. The elder Daniell—Thomas—is standing before him to his right. He looks towards his nephew, to whom he is pointing out some object in the distance. He wears a white cravat and a brown coat. The face is clean shaven. The hair is scanty and turning grey. The hands are left unfinished."

When and where was this picture painted? We know from the dates appended to the sketches of Southern India in the second series of *Oriental Scenery* which consists of "Twenty-four views taken in 1792 and 1793," that the Daniells were at Calcutta in 1792 and thereafter in the Madras Presidency from June of that year until some time in 1793, when they left India. Robert Home who was a pupil of Angelica Kauffmann, R.A., and exhibited a picture at the Royal Academy as early as 1770, is believed to have landed in Madras in 1790. During his residence there he painted a portrait of Lord Cornwallis and also took some sketches in the Mysore country. He did not go to Calcutta until the end of 1793: and went still later to Lucknow, upon his appointment by the Nawab Wazir, Asaf-ud-daula, as historical and portrait painter to the Court. It would seem, therefore, that Home met the Daniells in Madras and painted the picture there, either in the winter of 1792 or the spring of 1793. Thomas Daniell who was born in 1749, would then be forty-three years of age. His nephew William, was exactly twenty years his junior, and had accompanied his uncle to India at the age of fourteen. Home removed in 1828 from Lucknow to Cawnpore, where he died on September 12, 1834, at the age of eighty-two. His collection of pictures was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by his son, Brigadier and Colonel Home.

“A Trip to Bengal” in 1802.

AMONG the many artists who visited India during the closing years of the eighteenth century was one Charles Smith. We may read the following account of him in that olla podrida of useful information, Carey's "Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company:" (Vol. II. page 257):

Charles Smith, who styled himself "Painter of the Great Mogul," was a Scotchman, a native of the Orkneys, who set up in London as an artist. He excelled in portraits and exhibited at the Academy in this branch; and in 1792 a fancy subject, "Shakespear as an infant nursed between Tragedy and Comedy." He removed to Edinburgh in 1793, and thence came out to India. (1)

Remembering who the Mogul was and the troubles of the times, it seems at first highly improbable that Charles Smith could have gone to Delhi. We know that some years afterwards Lord Valentia was told he would be scarcely safe in travelling to Agra. But it so happens that in 1794 there was a complete lull in Upper India: the blind old Shah Alum was (to be sure) a pensioner of Scindia: but for a time he lived in comfort, and though the death of Scindia removed his patron early in 1794, yet the Nana Furnavis kept all things straight, and there seems no reason why Smith should not have gone up-country, nor why the old Mogul should not have employed his services.

Whether any of Smith's handiwork survives, we are not able to state. The artist left the country in 1796; but the East does not seem to have afterwards influenced his choice of subjects. He was an accomplished sort of man apparently; for he published in 1802, a musical entertainment in two acts, called "A Trip to Bengal."

He died at Leith in 1824, having reached the good old age of 75.

There is another reference to Smith in an article entitled "European Artists at the Court of Lucknow" which was published in the *Pioneer* of March 29, 1919. It runs as follows:—

In the India Register for 1806, among the European residents of Bengal in the entry "Smith, Charles, portrait painter, Lucknow." Smith's name also appear in the Registers for the five following years.

(1) As a matter of detail, it may be stated that Smith went out to India in the *Bellmont* (758 tons, Captain William Dick Gamage) which sailed from the Downs on March 11, 1783 for "the Coast and Bay."

Against some of the entries stands the date 1783. This seems to indicate that Smith came to India in that year. He was a native of the Orkney Isles and was born about 1749. He was befriended by Sir Joshua Reynolds, but became unpopular on account of his political opinions. He exhibited in various English galleries sixteen pictures between 1776 and 1797. In 1802 he published "A Trip to Bengal, A Musical Entertainment."

In India Smith's charges for portraits were half length Rs. 250; Three-quarter length Rs. 500; Full length Rs. 1,000. He painted a portrait of himself in Indian dress which was mezzotinted by S. W. Reynolds. After his return to England he described himself as "painter to the Great Mogul," but it is doubtful whether he ever went to Delhi. He died in England in 1824.

Finally, in an article on "Anglo Indian Miniaturists" by Mr. A. Francis Steuart, which appeared some years ago, we find it stated:

Charles Smith, an Orkney man, also went to India in 1783, and from 1789 resided in London under the style of "Painter to the Great Mogul." He died in 1824, after a successful career.

None of Smith's pictures have survived, to the knowledge of the present writer, and no mention of them has been discovered. But the object of this article is not to discuss his merits as a painter. It is proposed to give a summary of the contents of his "musical entertainment" entitled "A Trip to Bengal." A copy of this is preserved in the British Museum Library. It is a thin book of 52 pages, bound in boards, and the Title page is as follows:—

A TRIP TO BENGAL

A MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT

IN TWO ACTS

WRITTEN BY CHARLES SMITH

LONDON: Printed at the Oriental Press

by Wilson & Co. Wild-Court, Lincolns Inn Fields

for S. Ridgway and Black and Parry

1802.

By way of frontispiece Smith's portrait of himself, as engraved by S. W. Reynolds, is prefixed, with the legend "Charles Smith, painter to the Great Mogul: ipse pinxit, S. W. Reynolds Sculpt."

There is an elaborate dedication in the following terms.

To Sir John Macpherson Bart (2). Late Governor-General of Bengal and to the British inhabitants of the Settlement and of Madras This Drama is respectfully Dedicated as a grateful acknowledgment of the patronage and Hospitality experienced during a Residence of several years in India by Their ever obliged and obedient Servant Charles Smith London Jan. 1, 1802.

Thereafter follows a preface in the usual florid style of the time :

To the generality of *European* Readers many of the incidents in the following little drama may seem improbably generous and romantic : but the BENGAL READER will readily recognise them as well-authenticated facts. The same may be asserted of the ludicrous as of the serious anecdotes which the author claims only the merit of having connected, and of having tendered a faithful portrait of the modes and manners of the most *elegant* and *enlightened* as it is the most *extensive* and *important* Colony of Great Britain.

The characters are thus enumerated :

Male.—The Governor-General of Bengal : Russell ; Hantley : Capt. Fitzpatrick : A Kitmatgar.

Female.—The Governor's Lady : Maria (Russell) : Fanny as Frank in a Midshipman's Dress.

Black Domestics, Palanquin Bearers, Missalchees,

Singing and Dancing Girls, Musicians, Dandies.

The scene is laid in "Calcutta and its Environs" : and the Time of Action "within 24 hours."

We now come to the play itself, which may be summarised as follows :

(2) Sir John Macpherson administered the Government of Bengal in 1785-86, during the twenty months which elapsed between the departure of Warren Hastings and the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. He was the Senior Member of Council at Fort William, and from all accounts he was a typical "Nabob." He had come out originally to Madras as purser of the Lord Mansfield Indiaman (499 tons), which sailed from the Downs on March 8, 1767, and three years later procured admittance to the Company's service at Fort Saint George. Attaching himself to Wala Jah, the Nabob of the Carnatic, he shook the pagoda tree with such success that when he returned to England in 1776 he proceeded at once to purchase a seat in Parliament. In 1781 he obtained from Lord North the place in Council resigned by Barwell and found himself in his fortieth year in occupation of the chair. He fully expected the permanent appointment, but had to rest content with a baronetcy. The remaining thirty-three years of his life he spent in England, where he became a close friend and confidant of the Prince Regent. He figures in Hicky's Gazette as The Thane, and being of great stature and of "rare bodily graces," earned also the nickname of the "Gentle Giant." His administration in Bengal was uneventful, but it was far from edifying, in spite of his boast that he had reduced expenditure by two and a half lakhs. Cornwallis had a very poor opinion of his abilities and principles, and in a letter to Dundas he characterized his methods of Government as "a system of the dirtiest jobbery."—(Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, pp. 120—121).

ACT I.—SCENE I.

The Banks of the Hoogley: a distant view of Calcutta on one side, a Choultry on the other side of the Stage. Twilight. A storm of Thunder Lightning and Rain is coming on. A Budgerow arrives, rowed by Twelve Dandies.

Chorus by Dandies. Ali! Ali! Ali! Ali!

Male Characters: Pull, pull away,
'Tis dangerous to stay where snakes, aligators,
and tigers abound.

Female Characters: The deep thunder rolls,
The loud tempest howls,
The waves hoarsely roar
As they dash on the shore:
Then quickly, ah! quickly, on shore let us descend.

The Dandies jump on shore and fasten the Budgerow with a rope to a Bamboo stake. Then follow Hartley, Fitzpatrick, Fanny (who is disguised as Frank, a midshipman) and Maria under cover of Chattees held by the Dandies. They take refuge in the Choultry. Hartley welcomes Maria upon her arrival in Bengal after five months' voyage.

Fanny (as Frank): How unlucky that the tide shou'd turn just when we were within a mile or two of Calcutta.

Hartley: And then that the baur should rise at the same time (3).

"Frank": My advice is to remain at anchor till flood tide, then get under weigh: and if we should go only at the rate of four knots, we shall make Calcutta in half a glass.

Hartley observes an elegant villa at no great distance and proceeding thither returns to say that it belongs to the Governor-General. While he and Fitzpatrick are gone, the ladies converse. Russell, Maria's father, having amassed a comfortable competence in an exalted situation in Bengal, had embarked for Europe above twelve months previously but had not been heard of since his ship left the Mauritius. Fanny reveals the fact that the Governor-General's lady was formerly her most intimate school-companion. On the return of the gentlemen they hand Maria into an upright palanquin. Hartley and "Frank" get into two others. Fitzpatrick (a raw Irish griffin)

(3) The reference is to the bore, or tidal wave, of which a graphic description is given in Caunter's *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 258):

A remarkable peculiarity of this river (the Hooghly) is that sudden influx of the tide called the bore, which rises in a huge wave sometimes to the height of sixteen or eighteen feet, sweeping up the stream at the rate of seventeen miles an hour, and overwhelming all the small craft within its rapid flow. It runs on the Calcutta side, but seldom extends above one-fourth part across the river, so that the shipping are generally beyond the reach of its influence. It nevertheless at times causes such an agitation that the largest vessels at anchor near the opposite shore (Indiamen of 600 tons are frequently seen at anchor off Calcutta) pitch and roll with considerable violence.

attempts to get into a fly palanquin (4) but tumbles out to the diversion of the Dandies and Missalchees.

ACT I.—SCENE II.

A large saloon lighted up with candles under shades placed on Tepoys. The Governor-General seated on a sofa smoking his Hooka; his lady sitting by him, with a letter in her hand; both fann'd by Bearers with Punkas—Chubdaars with silver sticks, etc. The Durwan without announces the arrival of visitors: "Sahab log autah hy, kubber da jow." The information is repeated by a Hircarra. Enter Hartley, Fitzpatrick, Maria, and Fanny, still disguised as "Frank." They are welcomed by the Governor-General and shown to their apartments. Fitzpatrick remains and comic "business" follows between him and a Kitmutgar based on Fitzpatrick's desire for a drink and his ignorance of Anglo-Indian customs and phrases.

Fitzpatrick: What civil creatures these poor black negers are.—Oh! What a sad thought it is that they shou'd be so cruelly oppress'd—as if they were not Christians like ourselves.—If I were Governor they shou'd have stockings, and brogues—aye, and wigs too. (5).

Loll shrab is ultimately brought in a long bottle, and consumed. A quarrel having taken place in the first scene between Fitzpatrick and "Frank," a mock duel is arranged by Hartley who withdraws the shot from Fitzpatrick's pistols.

ACT II.—SCENE I.

Verandah in the Governor's House between the columns of which is seen a view of the Tank Square in Calcutta. (6).

Fitzpatrick and Hartley arrive to attend the levee.

ACT II.—SCENE II.

The scene opens and discovers a Grand Saloon. The Governor attended by black domestics is giving audience to a Number of Persons who retire on one side of the Stage. Hartley and Fitzpatrick are presented: and Fitzpatrick asks the Governor for a commission in the Nabob of Lucknow's service. The Governor to humour him promises to recommend him to the Great Mogul who will make him a Noble and a General at once. "He has a Vakeel in Calcutta who is invested with all the powers of his master."

(4) Fly palanquin: a quick travelling carriage. "We all followed at once in fly palanquins"—Sir J. Day in Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* (II. 88: 1784): quoted in *Hobson Jobson*.

(5) There is more than a reminiscence here of the famous exclamation addressed by Sir Elijah Impey to his fellow-judges upon landing at Chandpal Ghat in 1774. "See, brothers, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was not surely established before it was needed. I trust it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see all these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings."

(6) The Old Court House is the building intended.

The Governor's lady and Maria enter: and a conversation of a sentimental type follows between Hartley and Maria. A Hircarrah announces a visitor. Enter Russell, Maria's father, who informs the Governor of his adventures:

"After we left the Mauritius we were overtaken by a dreadful hurricane which drove us on the coast of Africa. Our boat being destroyed, we were compelled to travel overland to the Cape, which we reached a day after the Hindoostan had left, with Maria (as I learned) on board. I embarked at the earliest opportunity for Bengal, and we arrived at Kudjeree a few hours after the Hindoostan."

Russell refuses consent to the marriage of Maria with her cousin Hartley, "the son of my most inveterate enemy who first drove me to India." The Governor intercedes with him, and they retire.

ACT II.—SCENE III.

A Street. Enter Fitzpatrick and the Kitmutgar on an elephant from which they descend. The elephant and black attendants retire. The ceremony with the bogus vakeel is over, and Fitzpatrick enquires of the Kitmutgar what title has been bestowed upon him. The Kitmutgar professes to read from a paper, and recites the following list with a supposed translation in each case:

Massa is Hurrum-zadah—that mean of illustrious birth—Soor Maranee—of elegant taste—Joot wallah—mirror of truth—Behadre—conqueror or general.

Enter a Chubdaar with a Hackree. He presents a letter to Fitzpatrick and gives a bundle to the Kitmutgar. The letter is handed to the Kitmutgar who declares it to be addressed "To His Highness Hurrum-zadah Soor Maranee Joot wallah Behadre," and to contain the following message from a Begum. "I live but in your smiles and die if you come not directly to the Zenana." Fitzpatrick is eager to accept the assignation and is told that he must put on a female dress. "Here are jamma Begum have sent Massa." They get into the Hackree and are driven off.

ACT II.—SCENE IV.

An apartment in a Zenana—an Arch in the middle with a semi-transparent Purda let down—Hindostannee Musicians playing—Singing and Dancing Girls arranged on one side of the Stage. Enter Fitzpatrick on the other, in Hindostannee female attire. The Governor's Lady, disguised with a Veil etc. conducts him to a seat on which he sits down cross legg'd. A Hookah and perfumes are presented to him. A Nautch is performed during which Fanny appears behind the purda in a Hindostannee dress. Fitzpatrick makes his Salaams awkwardly to the supposed Begum whom he has come to meet. Fanny gives a signal and the Governor's Lady sings a "Persian Song: "

Orra dilna dana lea mera munna dana le—a
 , Mia keakaran a logo dilna dana le—a
 Orra dilna dana le—a mere munna dana le—a
 Orra omkee durpor co—el betee curtee pe—a pe—a
 Orra ectomboleen iscetakee locktaka courbana ma
 Orra is gableema otta giatta deckna ee ora ke—a. (7)

The Governor's Lady speaks broken English to Fitzpatrick and persuades him to promise the "Begum" to take her for better or for worse, Fanny unveils and completes the astonishment of Fitzpatrick by producing a paper in which payment of a lack of rupees is authorised on the day of her marriage. At this point enter the Governor, Russell, Hartley and Maria. The Governor explains to Fitzpatrick that the money is a tribute which he and a few friends cheerfully pay to merit. Maria announces that her father has at last consented to her union with Hartley : and after a chorus by way of finale the curtain falls.

So much for the play. At the end of the book is given the following :

GLOSSARY OF HINDOSTANNEE WORDS.

Ali.	God.
Behadre.	a Commander.
Begum.	a Princess.
Budgerow.	a Boat or Barge.
Chattee.	an Umbrella.
Choultry.	a Temple or Arcade for sheltering Travellers from sun and rain.
Chubdaar.	an attendant bearing a Silver Stick.
Dandee.	Boatman.
Dustoor.	Custom or fashion.
Hackree.	a covered Carriage drawn by Buffa- loes.
Hurum-zadah.	illegitimate son—a term of reproach.
Hircarrah.	a messenger or footman.
Hookah.	an instrument for smoking tobacco, etc.
Jamma.	a muslin Dress.
Jcot walla.	a liar.
Kitnutgar.	a domestic who serves at table.
Loll shrab.	Red wine, Claret.
Missalchee.	Torch-bearer.

Nautch.	an entertainment of singing and dancing.
Palanquin.	a vehicle of conveyance carried by four bearers.
Peenake Pawnee.	water to drink.
Punka.	a large fan.
Purdo.	a curtain or blind.
Saheb Salaam.	a Hindostannee salutation.
Shrab.	any fermented liquor.
Soor Marannee.	filthy hog—a term of reproach.
Tepoy.	a small table or stand.
Tank.	a reservoir.
Vakeel.	an Ambassador.
Verandah.	a gallery or colonnade.
Zenana.	the apartments attached to the females.

An Indian friend, who has studied this glossary, declares that it bears a strong resemblance to the list of words which Ooriya bearers commit to memory before entering the service of a Sahib (8). But, while a fair choice of Oriental expletives is afforded, there is one notable omission. In the Ooriya vocabulary, "when the Sahib says, 'd—d rascal' it means run away." *Jecur non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.* With this reminder of Sir George Trevelyan's saying we may restore "A Trip to Bengal" (freshly dusted) to its place on the shelves of the Bloomsbury reading-room.

C.

(8) It is certainly remarkable for the inclusion of the word "Choultry," which is peculiar to South India, and denotes in the Madras Presidency not only a resting-place for travellers (the sense in which it is employed by Smith), but also a court-house for the transaction of public business. Frequent mention of the "Justices of the Choultry" will be found in the early archives of Fort Saint George. "Chattee" is, of course intended for *Chatta*, the "chatter" of Hedge's Diary: while "Ali" is a strange variant for "Allah," which has escaped the authors of "Hobson-Jobson."

Appendix.

THE " PERSIAN SONG."

NOTE.—By the courtesy of Sir E. Denison Ross, the Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, the verses on page 104, which are not the gibberish that they appear to be, have been transliterated into the original Urdu, and rendered into English. It will be seen that one or two words in the fifth line have, perhaps fortunately, defied solution.

اے دل نادان! لے آ — پرے من نادان! بے آ
میں کیا کروں لے لوگو! دل نادان! بے آ

mo No 1.

اے لائے در پر کرسی بیٹھی کرتی پیار پیار
اے ایک تم بویں۔
اے اس گھر لے آنا۔ وہ تو گیا۔ تو دیکھ ہے۔ اے کس
مہربان ہیں

(1) O bring back my foolish heart to me, bring back my foolish mind.

(2) What shall I do, O people? Bring back my foolish heart.

(3) O bring back my foolish heart to me, bring back my foolish mind.

(4) Ah, at his door, upon a chair seated, she is caressing,
caressing him (i.e. the rival).

(5) Oh, one thing you said — — I adjure you — —?

(6) Oh bring her to this house, he has gone away; what is there to look
out for (i.e. there is no fear of being caught).

The Ūrdū song, opposite.

M.A.H.

Proper transliteration.

Aré, dil-nadān, le-ā! Paré, man-nadān, le-ā!
Main kai karūnī, ai lōgōn? Dagal-nadān, le-ā!
Aré, dil-nadān, le-ā! Paré, man-nadān, le-ā!
Aré, ūnké dar par, karsi-beṭhi-karti. Piyār, Piyār!
Aré, ek tambulin qurbān-in.
Aré, is ghar lē-āna. Uh, tū gayā? Tū rinki hai?
Aré, kai ...?

Free Translation.

Ho, Foolish-One, bring yourself here! Hey, Feather-head,
this way!
(What can I do, O people?) Silly Rotter, come along in!
Ho, Foolish-One, bring yourself here! Hey, Feather-head,
this way!
Hist, by their door, those (girls) are talking abusive smut.
Darling, Darling!
Hi, (that girl is only) a Pān-Wāli ... it would be a
sacrifice!
Hey, this is the house to come to! Hulloo, you've gone?
Got no money?
Then, whatever (are you in these parts for) ...?

Sir Joshua's Model.

THE STORY OF EMILY WARREN AND ROBERT POTT.

On December 15, 1807, the following entry was made in his Diary by Joseph Farington, the Royal Academician, whose jottings on contemporary persons and events have formed so pleasant a feature of that great London newspaper the *Morning Post* during the last fourteen months :

" Constable (the painter) called and related an anecdote of Greville A beautiful young woman called Emily who lived for a time with Greville and afterwards went to Bengal with Pott, son to the Surgeon, sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for a picture in which she was represented as Thais. This picture, when finished, Greville could not pay for, but proposed to the present Lord Dysart to take it and He was to have it for the sum paid if He should claim it. But Greville not being influenced by any strong desire for it, allowed near 30 years to pass without applying for (it), but lately on the reputation of Sir Joshua rising and this picture being spoken of, He put in his claim for it and took away paying the hundred guineas which Lord Dysart had paid for it. The transaction however has not been agreeable to the Dysart family though His Lordship who preferred peace to everything else submitted to it." (1).

In various books of reference the subject of this picture which was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1781 is given as Miss Pott. But if we turn to the second volume of the "Memoirs of William Hickey," (1775 to 1782), we shall find that Sir Joshua's model was Emily Warren, a lady of very different character.

Hickey relates that he first met Emily in 1776 when she was "an unripe and awkward girl but with features of exquisite beauty." Charlotte Hayes, whom he describes as "an experienced old matron who kept a house of celebrity in King's Place," met her in the streets of London when not quite twelve years of age leading her father, a blind beggar, about and soliciting charity from every person that passed. Hickey continues: "Sir Joshua Reynolds whom all the world allowed to be a competent judge had painted Emily's portrait many times and in different characters. He even declared

(1) The Hon'ble Charles Greville was the second son of the first Earl of Warwick: and evidently had a taste for irregular alliances, for he was an early friend also of Emma Hart (Nelson's Emma) who afterwards became Lady Hamilton. The picture must have reverted to the Earl of Dysart; for it was lent by him for exhibition to the British Institution in 1813. In 1833 it was lent to the Suffolk-street Gallery by Admiral Tollemache, and in 1857 to Manchester by Mr. J. Tollemache. Subsequently it came into the possession of Miss Alice de Rothschild. (See "Morning Post" of February 12, 1923, from which these details are taken).

every limb of hers perfect in symmetry, and altogether he had never seen so faultless and finely-formed a human figure." Nevertheless, although as Hickey puts it, to look upon Emily was to look upon perfection, as far as figure and features went, continued and intimate acquaintance with her brought the conviction that she was totally devoid of feeling, and moreover, she could neither read nor write. She was however an apt scholar so far as talking and common address went and by no means deficient or awkward in conversation. Hickey records that he could not recollect ever to have heard her make use of a vulgarity or a phrase that could mark her illiterateness.

"Pott, son to the Surgeon," was Robert Percival Pott of the Company's Civil Service on the Bengal Establishment. He was appointed Assistant to the Council of Revenue at Murshidabad on March 16, 1774, and in 1777 was an Assistant at the Maidapore out-factory near that station. Owing to ill health he was compelled to resign the Company's Service and to return to England in the beginning of the following year. He was an intimate friend of William Hickey, and when that gentleman arrived in Calcutta in November 1777 on the *Seahorse* (676 tons, Capt. David Arthur) in order to commence practice as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, he was met by "Bob Pott", who drove up the avenue to Colonel Watson's house at Garden Reach where he was staying, "in a very jemmy equipage." In this turn-out he was taken to the "noble mansion" belonging to Richard Barwell, then a member of the Supreme Council, who had lent it to his younger brother Daniel and "three friends—Pott, Cator and Gosling". (2). Pott subsequently introduced Hickey to Sir Elijah Impey and the other two Judges—Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice Hyde—Mr. Justice Le Maistre having died the day before his arrival. The "first really pleasant party" which Hickey attended was given by Daniel Barwell. "The most highly dressed and splendid hookah" was prepared for the guest: but he found it disagreeable and never smoked another, although he "frequently heard men declare they would much rather be deprived of their dinner than their hookah." Another custom of the times is thus described: "In this party I first saw the barbarous custom of pelleting each other with little balls of bread made like pills across the table which was even practised by the fair sex. Mr. Daniel Barwell was such a proficient that

(2) Robert Gosling was export warehouse keeper in 1783, and Commercial Resident, first at Rungpore (1787) and subsequently (1789) at Keerpoy (Khairpai, near Ghatal, in the Midnapore district). Joseph Cator, being then a factor on the Bengal Establishment, married in 1780 Diana Bertie. Her sister Ann married in 1778 North Naylor, the Company's Attorney who came to loggerheads with the Judges of the Supreme Court over the Cossijurah case and was committed to jail in March, 1780. They came out to India in 1777 with William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 101) on board the *Seahorse* of which their brother-in-law, Captain David Arthur, was in command: and, says Hickey, the object of their adventure was to "search for husbands." Richard Barwell assigned to Mrs. Cator the free use for two years (1780 to 1782) of the house, with furniture "now occupied by Mr. Robert Sanderson," his father-in-law, "fronting the Esplanade." We find her husband resigning on November 20, 1780 the offices of member of the provincial council of Calcutta and Captain of the Calcutta militia. He was appointed in that year one of the trustees of Barwell's Estates.

he could at a distance of 3 or 4 yards snuff a candle and that several times successively. "

Pott left for Europe in the middle of February 1778 in the *Ceres* (723 tons, Captain Thomas Newte) and arrived without mishap in the Downs on August 23 following (3). Hickey himself returned to London in the summer of 1780, sailing from the Sandheads on May 1, 1779, in the *Nassau* (723 tons, Captain Arthur Gore). He was sent home by a committee of the inhabitants of Calcutta in connection with the agitation for trial by jury in the Settlement. The French blockade kept them at Madras until October 30, and he left the *Nassau* at the Cape, and finished his journey in a Dutch Indiaman.

Upon his arrival he received a letter from Emily Warren entreating that he should immediately call upon her. She enclosed in her letter another from Pott informing him of his being under the necessity of leaving London for Portsmouth where he was to embark for Bengal in the *Hillsborough*, commanded by Captain Pitt Collett. He had, he said, endeavoured to procure a passage to India for Emily, who had been living with him for a year and a half, and had even induced her to put on boy's clothes in order to pass her off as a servant. But the Captain saw through the deception and told Pott it could not be as it would lose him the command of the ship and cause his ruin. Pott therefore sailed without her at the end of July 1780. Hickey tells us that he left her in a handsome well-furnished house in Cork Street, the rent of which he paid fifteen months in advance, "besides abundantly stocking with all sorts of wines, coals, candles, and every article of house keeping sufficient for the same period", and had likewise provided her with a carriage and pair of beautiful horses which he had himself driven in his phaeton. Pott entreated his friend to look after Emily "whom he had prepared to love him" and Hickey relates how the young lady came to see him in "a dashing bright yellow vis à vis, having Pott's arms emblazoned thereon, and an elegant pair of bright bay horses, with the coachman and footman in smart frocks of blue faced with yellow and trimmed with a broad silver lace. "

All these plans came to nothing. Some weeks later, a letter came from Pott as prisoner at Madrid in which he said that, after the fleet had been barely a fortnight at sea and were in early expectation of making the island of Madeira, they encountered a strong enemy force of 20 sail of large ships both Spanish and French. Five East Indiamen and a great number of West Indiamen were

(3) Daniel Barwell followed shortly after in the *Osterley* (758 tons, Captain Samuel Rogers) and was less fortunate. When off the Mauritius, on February 22, 1779, they fell in with a large French privateer and were captured and taken to the Isle of France. After a detention of some weeks Barwell was allowed to proceed in an American vessel to the Cape, where he embarked in a Dutch East Indiaman. This vessel ran on a sandbank off Middleburg on the coast of Holland and was totally lost. Barwell attempted to swim ashore and was drowned.

captured (4) and Robert's ship being prize to a Spaniard, was taken into Cadiz where the prisoners were placed upon their parole. Pott returned in due course to London and made fresh arrangements for his departure for Bengal. This time he *did* take Emily Warren out with him in the *Lord Mulgrave*, an Indiaman of 692 tons under the command of Captain James Urmston, which sailed from Plymouth for Bengal on June 26, 1781. The story is thus related by Hickey :

" In the beginning of February Pott told me he had agreed for the whole of the round house and half the great cabin of the ship *Lord Mulgrave*, commanded by Captain Urmston, which ship would sail for India in six weeks; that in consideration of a large sum of money the Captain had consented to receive Emily on board, and they both (Emily and Pott) flattered themselves that I would join the party by occupying the half of the great cabin which he (Pott) had taken in the hope that I would do so. "

Now it so happened that Pott's father, Percival Pott (1714-1788), the eminent Surgeon, had considerable influence at the India House. Efforts were made by him to prevent his son from taking " that infamous and notoriously abandoned woman Emily who had already involved him deeply as to pecuniary matters, out to India, a step that must not only shut him out of all proper society but prevent his being employed in any situation of respect and emolument. " Hickey was asked to see the elder Pott at his house in Hanover Square which he did; but it was too late.

" I received the same day a long epistle from Robert telling me that after an ineffectual attempt to get to sea they had returned and still lay wind-bound at the Mother Bank (Portsmouth); that he was extremely uneasy at the detention, as the old buck (meaning his father) was stirring heaven and earth to defeat his wish of keeping his dear woman with him. ' Nay ', adds he, ' do you know, Bill, he has carried it so far as to apply to the Court of Directors, and the stupid soap-boilers in consequence directed their addle-pated Secretary to address a letter " on the Service " to Captain Urmston, admonishing him against so unpardonable a fault as permitting a common prostitute to find her way to India on board his ship. But it's all in vain, my dear Bill, go she must, and go she shall by all the powers of heaven and hell. Poor

(4) The *Hillsborough* (723 tons), the *Royal George* (758 tons, Capt. Thomas Foxall) and the *Mount Stuart* (758 tons Capt. John Haldane) all bound for the "Coast and Bay", together with the *Godfrey* (716 tons, Capt. Henry Grueber) bound for Bombay, and the *Gatton* (758 tons, Captain James Rattray) bound for St. Helena and Bencoolen, sailed from Portsmouth on July 27, 1780, in company with a number of West India ships. They were captured on August 9 following by the combined French and Spanish fleets in lat. 36.28. N. lon. 15.20 W. The first officer of the *Royal George* was Nathaniel Dance, who was afterwards commander of the *Lord Camden* (799 tons) and on February 14, 1804, when commodore of the homeward bound China fleet, beat off an attack by Admiral Linois with four French men of war, off Pulo Aor. For this exploit he was knighted and presented with £5,000 by the Bombay Insurance Corporation, receiving in addition a pension of £500 a year from the East India Company. He was a nephew of the painter Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, R.A. and the architect George Dance junior, R.A.

Urmston is in a woeful panic, saying it may be the means of his losing the command of his ship, and the service altogether. But I know better; the worst the cheese-mongering varlets of Leadenhall Street can do is to mulct him a few hundred pounds, which of course I shall pay."

The sequel must be sought in the third volume of Hickey's "Memoirs" (1782 to 1790), which makes an opportune appearance as these pages go to press. The infatuated Bob and the fair and frail Emily duly reached Madras and embarked thence for Bengal in a country ship in May, 1782. Emily was tormented by prickly heat, and when off Culpee, drank in quick succession two large glasses of extremely cold water mixed with milk. The prickly heat disappeared, but she complained of faintness and suddenly fell back dead. Fott was "inconsolable and outrageous in his grief." The body was placed in a coffin and towed astern in a boat to Calcutta where it was interred in "the burial-ground of the town." A magnificent mausoleum was constructed over the grave by Mr. Tiretta, at a cost of three thousand pounds: and he was also employed at a fee of another thousand pounds to erect a column "amongst herds of tigers" at Culpee which was promptly christened "Pott's Folly" by the pilots who nevertheless profited by its presence when bringing in ships from sea. There is no trace of the grave in the Park-street cemeteries, but the column at Culpee may still be seen.

Pott's grief was soon allayed. When Hickey himself arrived at Calcutta on June 30, 1783, he found him "in excellent health and high spirits," installed in "a noble mansion situated upon the banks of the river, five miles from Calcutta." He had another residence in town, for we find from the Calcutta Collectorate records that on February 20 and 21, 1784, he sold to one Robert Penny for Sicca Rs. 35,181-7-0 "an upper roomed dwelling house" in Calcutta and one bigha four cottahs and fifteen chittacks of land "near to the New Theatre", (5) and "bounded on the north side thereof by the house now occupied by Jacob Rider, Esquire." (6).

(5) This "New Theatre" stood at the north-west corner of Lyons Range and was converted by Gopey Mohan Tagore in 1808 into the New China Bazar.

(6) Jacob Rider was an old shipmate of Hickey. They had come out to India together in the *Plassey* (499 tons, Capt. John Waddell) which sailed from the Downs for "the Coast and China" on January 3, 1769. Rider's family appears to have been connected by marriage with a branch of Lord Clive's family. He had originally been sent out to Bengal in 1762 and when Clive became Governor at Fort William for the second time in 1764, he appointed him to be Paymaster-General of the Army. But he was dismissed for signing the military "round robin" of remonstrance against the abolition of "double batta." He returned to Europe and by the exercise of personal influence obtained restoration to the rank of factor. He became Collector of Malda in 1772 and his second stay in Bengal lasted until about 1775 when he retired "with an ample fortune" and Hickey met him in London (Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 79). He must have run through his money and once more returned to Bengal for, besides the evidence that he was occupying a house in Calcutta in 1784, the records show that he was acting chief of Cossimbazar in 1777 and member of the Board of Trade in 1780. In 1785 he was, says Hickey (Vol. III, p. 275) past-owner, with Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (father of Lord Metcalfe) and one Benjamin Mee, of a concern known as the Bengal Bank. "The emoluments of the

In December, 1783, Pott was appointed Resident at Burdwan. The post was "considered one of the most lucrative situations in the service:" but Pott accepted it with open annoyance. He had, before leaving England, procured from the Directors, upon the personal application of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, the appointment of Resident at the Durbar of the Nawab Nazim at Moorshedabad, in succession to Sir John D'Oyly. Unfortunately, the baronet was in no hurry to vacate, and when he decided to go in July, 1784, he demanded three lakhs of sicca rupees as "compensation" for "early resignation," besides Rs. 90,000 as the price of furniture left at the Residency. Pott submitted to the extortion, for he was very well aware of the "advantages" enjoyed by the holders of this "enviable situation." The whole of the allowances paid by the Government to the Nabob and his Court passed through the hands of the Resident, "in which channel a considerable portion always stuck to his fingers" and he was also Collector of Customs.

One wonders how Pott came to possess so large a sum as four lakhs: for his extravagance was phenomenal. While at Burdwan, he expended (Hickey tells us) Rs. 30,000 upon the house in which he lived, and built in addition a "beautiful hunting seat" about twelve miles away. He was equally lavish when he took possession of the Residency at Afzulbaug, "a magnificent mansion on the banks of the Cossimbazar river, about three miles from Berhampore, and two from Moorshedabad." Extensive alterations were at once put in hand, until the place became "altogether by far the most splendid thing in India." Hickey visited him in April or May, 1785, and again in February, 1786, and found him living in royal state. He was accompanied everywhere by a detachment of light horse, and when Hickey arrived by river, his friend met him in "a magnificent boat with a suwarry of at least sixty persons."

Pott's reign at Afzulbaug lasted until 1789, when discrepancies were found in his accounts for which he was called upon to submit explanations. (7). It appears from Hickey that a violent quarrel broke out between him and his head assistant, John Addison, who had held the same post under Sir John D'Oyly. Charges were met by counter-charges: and an enquiry was held with the result that both were dismissed from their offices. Addison obtained re-employment after the lapse of sixteen years: but Pott's sentence was final.

business were immense, their notes being as current as cash all over the British territories in Asia, and in circulation to an amount almost incredible." Unwise speculation, however, produced a harvest of disputes and litigation, and at the end of some years, the Bank closed its doors. Metcalfe went to England, became a baronet in 1803, and was a Director of the Company from 1789 until his death in 1813. Rider seems to have remained in India. Thomas Twining (*Travels in India One Hundred Years Ago*, p. 168) mentions a visit paid by him in 1794 "to Mr. Rider at Cawnpore, whom I had known in Calcutta." Cawnpore was then the chief northern station of the Company's troops and Rider was paymaster. Finally, a monument in the old cemetery at Ghazipore bears the name of Jacob Rider who "died regretted on the 25th of August, 1809, aged 63 years." These dates would make him 16 years old at the time of his first arrival in Bengal in 1762.

(7). Pub. O. C. 8 July 1789, No. 2; 10 October, 1789, No. 17: Pub. Proc. for July, 1789, pp. 3365-3369,

Sympathy need not, however, be wasted upon the volatile Robert. In 1788 he had married Miss Sally Cruttenden at Berhampore. This lady who was a heiress with an income of six thousand pounds a year, was his first cousin, for his father, Dr. Percival Pott, had in 1746 married Sarah, daughter of Robert Cruttenden by whom he had five sons and four daughters. (8). The third son Joseph Holden Pott (1759-1847) became Archdeacon of London: and another son, besides Robert, came to Bengal. William Percival Pott was in the Civil Service from 1798 to 1806 and died on October 10, 1806, at Furruckabad, where he was assistant to the judge and magistrate.

There are traces of Robert Pott in the Records of the Government of India up to November 1, 1793. In October 1790, he gives a testimonial to Mr. Robert Robertson who "lived with me in the capacity of writer for two years and a half" and states that "my only motive for Parting with him was the abolition of my appointment." On December 24 of the same year a formal application is submitted by "J. Winth, D.C.P.M." to Lord Cornwallis for payment of Mr. Pott's bill for "his subsistence for the month of July last," the reason for the delay in presentation being that "Mr. Pott was absent from the city on his way to Lucknow." The same delay, but due on this occasion to their not having been audited by the Civil Paymaster, occurs in December, 1791, when Messrs. George and Thomas Gowan present to "E. Hay, Esq. Secretary to the Government" his salary bills for November and December, 1790. Finally, on October 23, 1793, Mr. Pott writing from Lucknow solicits permission from the Hon'ble Peter Speke acting Governor-General (brother of "Billy" Speke the midshipman of the *Kent*, who is buried in St. John's churchyard) "to go, with my family, on a party of pleasure, in the course of the ensuing cold season to Agra and Delhi." The receipt of this communication on November 1, is duly noted: and thereafter we lose sight of him (9).

(8). The name of Cruttenden is a familiar one in the history of Calcutta. Edward Holden Cruttenden was second in Council at Fort William in 1753 and became a "free merchant" on his dismissal two years later from the Company's Service. He was present during the siege of Calcutta and took refuge at Fulta with his wife and three children. His house and spacious grounds played a prominent part in the defence and the attack. They were situated immediately to the north of the old Fort, and are conspicuously marked in Wills' map of Calcutta in 1756. Cruttenden was subsequently a Director of the Company from 1765 to 1771. There is a monument by Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A., in St. John's Church to the memory of Major George Cruttenden, who died at Macao on March 23, 1822, at the age of 54. He retired from the Bengal Army in 1809 to join the firm of Cruttenden, McKillop & Co. which was one of the houses involved in the commercial failures of 1833. It seems that he came out to India as a cadet with Pott in 1782, and lived with him as a member of his "family" at Calcutta, Burdwan, and Afzulbaug.

(9). Pub. O. C. 6 Dec. 1790, No. 16; 24 Dec. 1790, No. 18; 7 Dec. 1791, No. 23; 1 Nov. 1793, No. 39.

Dutch Memorials at Chinsurah.

OF all the rivers in the world, the Hooghly (which should more properly be termed the Bhagirathi) is surely the most cosmopolitan. The flags of no less than seven European nations have been hoisted on its banks. First in point of time are the Portuguese (Feringis) who are heard of at Satgaon (Porto Piqueno) as early as 1535, and who moved their factories about 1570 to Ugolym (Hooghly town) and its suburb of Bandel (1). A street in Hooghly is still known as Feringitola; and the Portuguese retain a few bighas of land attached to the church of Nossa Senhora do Rosario at Bandel which is the oldest place of Christian worship in Bengal, if not in India. It was burnt by the "Moors" in the sack of Hooghly in 1632, but a token stone of the original building, with the date 1599, has been built into the gate of the present church which was erected in 1661.

Then came the Dutch (Olandaz) at Golghat (also in Hooghly town) about 1650, and later at Chinsurah; and next the English who set up their factory at Golghat also in December, 1650, remaining there until Charnock moved to Sutanuti in 1690. The "New" or "English Company" had its headquarters at Golghat for some time; but after amalgamation with the Old Company migrated also to Calcutta in 1704. The Danes (Dinemar) settled on the river bank about 1670 or shortly thereafter at Gondolpara where the name Dinemardanga still survives; but this was abandoned in 1714, and Fredriksnagore, or Serampore, was not founded until 1755. The monogram of Frederick the Sixth of Denmark may still be seen at Serampore on the jail, the Court House, and the historic church (originally Lutheran) in which Marshman, Carey, and Ward once ministered. In the cemetery are the tombs of the factors of the Danske Asiatiske Compagnie and the records of the Company, which was established in 1612, are preserved in the record-room of the sub-divisional officer, in the shape of eight volumes of a rent roll, known as the Danish Roll, and a number of other volumes relating to rents and land tenures. The first Danish factory in Bengal was established at Balasore about 1636, but the honour of being the oldest of the Danish settlements in India belongs to Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast, where the Dansborg was built in 1620 and which enjoys the additional distinction of having been the birth place in 1762 of Madam Grand. Both Serampore and Tranquebar were sold to the British in 1845 for twelve and a half lakhs of rupees.

The French (Farasi) claim to have been established permanently at Chandernagore (Fort Orleans) since 1688, and are there to this day. Farasdanga cloths are still made by the Tantis in the Ballabhpur ward of Serampore: but

(1) Bandel is said to be a corruption of "bandar," the quay of Ugolym. The Portuguese were in the habit of speaking of "The Bandel of Bengal."

for nearly a century an administrateur and twenty-five cipahis have represented the remnants of French power left in Bengal. Lastly the Ostend Company and the Emdeners (under the patronage of the Great Frederick) made a brief stay, the former at Bankybazar on the eastern bank (opposite to Bhadreswar) from 1727 to 1731, and the latter from about 1753 to 1759 at the "Prussian Garden," a mile to the south of the French factory.

The Prussians had had their eye on the Indian trade long before. In Henry Muddiman's newsletters, from which hitherto unpublished extracts were printed in the "Times" of April 24, 1923, (2) we read the following:—

Sat. Dec. 20, 1684.—The good success that the English and Dutch Companies have found in their trade in the East Indies hath raised an emulation to try what they can do by their industry in these parts. And to this effect the *Sieur Tavernier* is employed by the Elector of Brandenburg [the Great Elector] to find out some convenient place for his subjects. Who though he has altered his resolution of going by Muscovy and Persia does yet go and to that purpose is bargaining for a ship in Holland. The French are following suit.

The "*Sieur Tavernier*" in question was Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who in 1679 had published a book on his travels in the East. He had paid a visit to Hooghly on February 20, 1666 and stayed till March 2, "during which time the Hollanders bid me very welcome and made it their business to show me all the divertisements which the country was capable of." Nothing came however of the Great Elector's plans as far as Bengal was concerned: although he hired ships from a "Dutch pirate" named Benjamin Raule and sent them to trade along the west coast of Africa.

The Dutch continued in possession of Chinsurah, which is within three miles of Chandernagore, until 1825, when they exchanged it and the other Dutch factories in Bengal for Bencoolen and Fort Marlborough on the island of Sumatra (3). Their first factory adjoined the old English factory at Hooghly itself, but it was swept away by floods. A new factory was thereupon built a little lower down at Chinsurah in 1656, according to Stavorinus, a Dutch naval officer who visited the place in 1769-70 and records that Fort Gustavus "was built in the year 1656, as appears by date over the land-gate."

The Fort was an imposing structure. "There is nothing in it (Hooghly) more magnificent than the Dutch factory," wrote Schouten who saw it in 1665. "it has, indeed, more the appearance of a castle than of a factory of merchants." Streyensham Master, in 1676, was similarly impressed by "the Dutch factory" which "is a large well-built house standing by itself, much like to a

(2) Since published in book form: "The King's Journalist, 1659—1689: studies in the reign of Charles II"; by J. G. Muddiman (London, 1923: 12s. 6d.). Henry Muddiman, who was the founder of the *London Gazette*, was official journalist to General Monk and later to Charles II. The manuscript of these news letters which were written from 1667 to 1689, has been lying in the library of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat since 1704.

(3) The treaty, which was signed in London on March 17, 1824, provided that the cession should take effect from March 1, 1825: but Chinsurah was not actually made over until May 7 of that year.

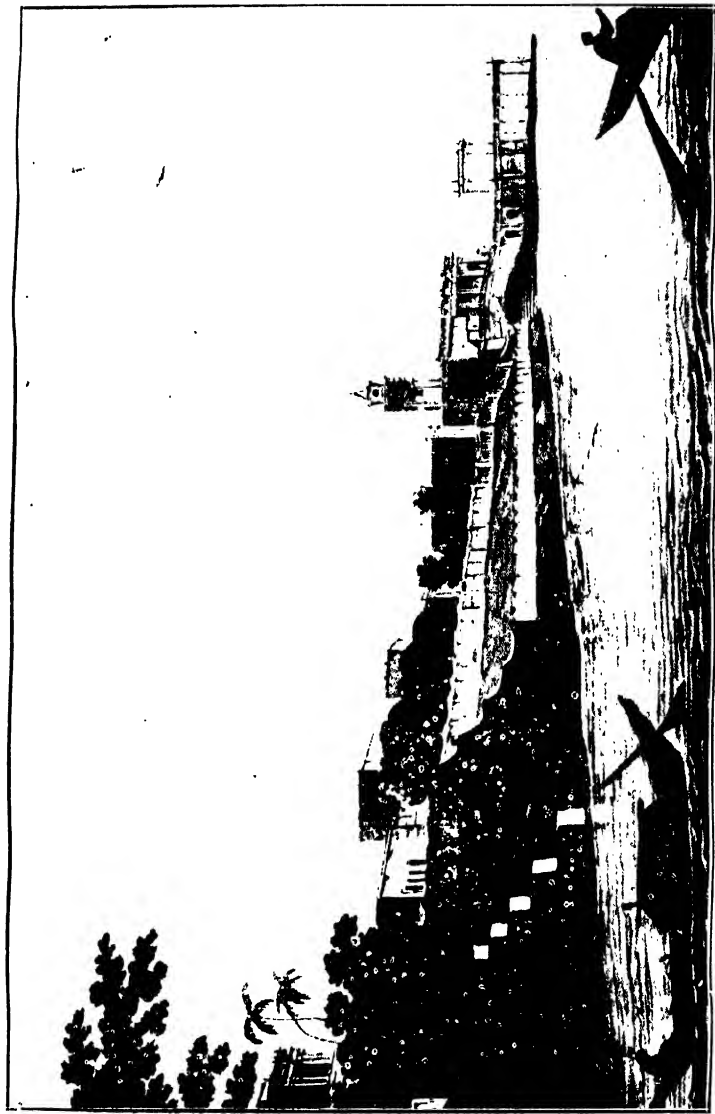
country seat in England." Captain Alexander Hamilton, an eighteenth century Sindbad who traded and travelled by sea and land between the Cape and India and Japan from 1688 to 1723, visited Bengal about 1706, and went up the river to "the Chinchura, where the Dutch Emporium stands." It was, he says, "a large factory walled high with brick: And the Factors have a great many good Houses standing pleasantly on the River Side, and all of them have pretty Gardens to their Houses." Chinsurah was then "about a mile long, and about the same breadth." In 1727 Laurent Garcin, a Swiss surgeon in the Dutch service, declares that there were nowhere such fine houses in India as at Chinsurah: but in the time of Stavorinus, the principal houses were one-storeyed and made of brick, the Company's garden had neither a bush or a blade of grass in it, and the walls of the Fort were in a ruinous condition. When Mrs. Fenton, the wife of a Company's officer, saw the place in 1827, it had been turned into a depot for British troops, and the Dutch quarter was already "a city of silence and decay." (4).

Nothing now remains of Fort Gustavus except a stone slab which was probably taken from the north gate, and has been placed on the noble main staircase of the Director's house, now occupied by the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division. It is inscribed with the familiar monogram V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) and the date 1687. (5) The stone to which Stavorinus refers has disappeared: and all trace has likewise been lost of another stone mentioned by Mr. Toynbee in his "Sketch of the administration of the Hooghly district," which bore the date 1692 and is said to have been affixed to the southern gate of Fort Gustavus, leading to the Company's garden. The house is believed to be the building which, according to Stavorinus, was erected by the Dutch Director, Sichterman, about the year 1744. It has lost its shady and pleasant garden, its gallery with a double row of pillars, projecting over the water, and the "elegant terrace and balcony which commands the finest prospect at Chinsurah."

The quaint old Church stands opposite, facing a long two-storeyed building, used until early in the seventies as officers' barracks. It is an octagonal structure not unlike a coffin in shape, and is surrounded by a sort of enclosed verandah, or outer aisle. At the south end is a tower, which was originally seventy-two feet high and had a steeple, a chiming clock and a bell. The steeple and the upper part of the tower fell in the cyclone of October 5, 1864:

(4) New barracks capable of accommodating a thousand men were built in place of the old Dutch barracks by Captain W. Bell in 1829: and in 1831 H.M. 60th Regiment was permanently stationed at Chinsurah. In 1843 "there were no troops at Chinsurah, but a large number of recruits was expected." The barracks were finally vacated by the Military Department in 1871.—Toynbee, "Sketch of the administration of the Hooghly District" (1888—p. 134).

(5) The letters O. and C. are placed across the limbs of the V. with the figures 16 on the left and 87 on the right. A similar monogram, with various dates, appears on the copper coinage issued by the Dutch Company, with a coat of arms on the other side.



A VIEW OF CHINSURAH, THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL.

(From "Select Views in India Drawn on the Spot 1780-1783" by William Hodges, R.A.)

and the lower portion alone remains. An old stone slab was found in 1907 at the foot of the tower which bore the inscription :

Gebowd door

J. A. Sichterman

Raad Extra ordinair van Nederland Indie

En directeur deeser Bengaalse

Direction * * * Anno 1742.

(Built by J. A. Sichterman, Extraordinary Councillor of Netherlands India and Director of this Bengal Direction.) It has now been placed on the wall of the vestry at the north end of the church.

The nave of the church was added to the tower by Director Vernet in 1767, and a medallion over the old east door bears testimony to the fact: "Ad majorem Dei gloriam edificare jussit G. Vernet, A.D. 1767." This inversion of the natural order of events leads Mr. Toynbee to remark that he is reminded of the story that the Frenchman invented the frill and the Englishman added the shirt. Lastly we have the outer aisle or closed-in external verandah which was built in the period between 1825 and 1835 and surrounds the whole of the church except the tower. The porch which is at the eastern end, belongs to the same period. In olden days, there was a railed-in space at the north end, where the altar is now placed. This was raised above the floor by three steps, and contained the pulpit, to which access was obtained by means of a door from the vestry at the back. At the opposite end, under the tower where the organ now stands, there was a similar railed-in space, also raised above the ground, in which were the seats of the "Consistory" or vestry, and the official chair of the Director. The platforms and the seats in the aisle were removed in 1880, and the door to the vestry blocked up. The font (which is placed in the outer aisle on the left hand of the porch) is a black serpentine block which according to tradition was brought from England and presented to the church in the early days of the English occupation. More interesting are two old guns forming the bases of the lamp standards which are in the garden and which are said to be of Dutch origin.

The first minister of the church was the famous John Zechariah Kiernander who settled at Chinsurah in 1789, and was appointed Chaplain on a stipend of Rs. 25 a month. He ceased to hold the office when the English occupied the settlement in 1795. Prior to his appointment there seems to have been no regular pastor. Services were conducted by an official known as the "Zieken-trooster" or "Comforter of the Sick," and baptisms were performed by a clergyman from Calcutta, "who was liberally paid for his trouble." (6).

The tower may be seen in a plan of Chinsurah drawn by Father J. Tieffen-thaler in 1765 (*Description de l'Inde*). Both tower and church (without the outer aisle) figure prominently in William Hodges' print of "Chinsurah, the Dutch Settlement of Bengal," which is reproduced on the opposite page. The print

(6) Some of these particulars regarding the church are taken from an article by the Rev. H. F. Fulford Williams which was published in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1915 (Vol. XI, Part II, pp. 237-241).

is included in a series of forty-eight aquatints entitled "Select Views in India Drawn on the Spot in 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783," and published in London in 1786.

In the descriptive text Hodges credits "the residence of the Dutch Governor and his Council" as being "remarkable for the pleasantness of its situation and its healthiness." There is he says, "a Fort and within that the Factories of the Dutch East India Company." In his other work, Hodges thus describes Chinsurah as he saw it, when he went up the river in the summer of 1781, in the company of Warren Hastings, just prior to the insurrection of Cheyt Singh at Benares (*Travels in India*, London, 1793, p.42):

Near to this (the French Settlement at Chandernagore) is the town of Chinsurah, the Dutch Settlement on the banks of the river; this town is very distinguishable at a considerable distance, and has a handsome appearance. It contains several good houses, and a church, with a little mole projecting into the river. Chinsurah lies nearly midway between Chandernagore and the old town of Hooghly, which is now nearly in ruins, but possesses many vestiges of its former greatness. In the beginning of the century it was the great mart for the export trade of Bengal to Europe.

Stavorinus gives a most interesting account (quoted by Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S., in his *Brief History of the Hooghly District*) of the administration of the settlement. The Government consisted of a Director, with a Council of seven members, the last two of whom had no vote. Although the Director corresponded directly with the Hague, he was subordinate to Batavia, and vacancies occurring at Chinsurah required confirmation from Batavia. The Director's full style and title was "The Honourable Director of the Company's important trade in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Behar, and Orixá." He received a percentage on the sale of all imported goods, and "spent Rs. 36,000 a year: the English Director at Calcutta spent a lakh." The privilege of being carried "in a palankeen sitting in a chair" was enjoyed by him alone: and he was preceded by chobdars armed with silver staves. The second in Council was Chief at Calcuttapore (Cossimbazar); the third acted as Chief Administrator: and the fourth was Superintendent of the Cloth Room, considered a very profitable appointment. The Captain of the troops and the Controller of Equipment had seats in Council, but no vote. The first warehouse-keeper and the Fiscal or Sheriff ranked as merchants. The latter received only the pay of a junior merchant, but he was also mayor of the town, and was known in the vernacular as Jemadar. "The natives stand more in awe of him than of the Director": for he punished by flogging and fines, frequently imposing fines of Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000 on rich bunnias. He received five per cent. on all imports and exports by private trade and "as six ships come and go every year," he was able to make Rs. 4,000 per ship, or Rs. 24,000 in all.

The Fiscal was represented by one of his officers at Fulta, whose duty it was "to have an eye upon the illicit, or smuggling trade, that is, in such cases when matters have not been settled beforehand with the Fiscal, and a proper

consideration made for his connivance." A house was kept at Barnagore for the accommodation of the Company's servants, and an under officer of the Fiscal resided there, under the Dutch flag. Here also the Fiscal had his opportunities for adding to his income: "Barnagore is famous on account of the great number of ladies of pleasure, who reside there, and who pay a monthly recognition to the Fiscal of Chinsurah, for the free exercise of their profession." In addition, the Dutch had factories at Patna and Dacca, and a small lodge at Balasore. The chief profits were derived from the export to Java of opium which was obtained from Patna. Each chest cost the Company Rs. 700 or Rs. 800 and was sold in Batavia for Rs. 1,250: and a net surplus of four lakhs was realized yearly.

Mr. O'Malley in the *Hooghly District Gazetteer* (1912, p. 65) gives the following list of the Dutch Directors with their years of office: Matthias van der Broucke (1658-1664) Martinus Huysman (1684) W. de Ros (1706) Antonius Huysman (1712) Vuist (1724) Patras (1726-1727) J. A. Sichterman (1744) Huygens (1749) Louis Taillefert (1754) J. Kerseboom (1754) Adrian Bisdorn (1754-1759) George Louis Vernet (1764-1770) Johannes Matthias Ross (1780) Pieter Brueys (1783) Titsinh (1789) J. A. van Braam (1817) and Daniel Overbeck (1818-1825). Van der Broucke was one of the first to survey the river Hooghly. Of Taillefert, we learn from Stavorinus that he destroyed all the tombs in the old burying-ground, which stood to the westward of Fort Gustavus, except the monument of the Director Huysman, which was turned into a powder magazine. "The rest was made into a level plain, and the burying place was removed to another part of the town, where now every grave has an upright tombstone upon it."

Bisdorn, or Bisdam, in spite of the fact that the battle of Biderra was fought and won by Forde on November 25, 1759, (7) during his Directorate, was a friend of Clive and Watts and, indeed, of the English in general. In a footnote on p. 19 of his *Travels in India* William Hodges thus writes of the services rendered by him to the English refugees at Fulta during the "Troubles" of 1756:—

When the fort of Calcutta was closely besieged by Suraja Dowlah, Mr. Drake, the Governor and many others, with several ladies of the settlement, escaped to the English ships then lying off the town, and which ships fell down as low as Fulta, one third of the distance to the mouth of the river, where they remained for seven months in the greatest distress. Mr. [Robert] Gregory, a gentleman since well known in the political world, and particularly for his knowledge in India affairs, and many years a Director of the East India Company [1769 to 1772 and 1775 to 1783: Chairman of the Court in 1782] ventured in a very

(7) The site of the "short, bloody, and decisive" battle of Biderra (as Broome calls it) is obscure. Various conjectures have been made, but the actual field of battle is probably the spot marked with drawn swords in Rennell's map of 1781, on the east bank of the Saraswati ("the broad and deep ditch," which threw the Dutch into confusion), a little to the south of Chandernagore. After Biderra, the Dutch were compelled to dismantle their fortifications and to send away their fleet; and their military force for the protection of their factories was limited to 125 men.

heavy gale of wind, in a country boat to pass Calcutta, and proceeded to Chandernagore, to solicit assistance from the French Governor, who received him with all the personal politeness that is the mark of that nation, but without offering anything to remove the distress of the English at Fulta. From the French Mr. Gregory proceeded to the Dutch Settlement at Chinsurah, where he was received with unaffected good manners and friendliness. After relating the distresses his countrymen laboured under, the Dutch Governor prepared for their relief: and his lady went round the settlement and procured linen and other articles, for the accommodation and comfort of the ladies: and, in the course of two days, the Governor dispatched a sloop under the command of Mr. Van Staten, their commander-in-chief, to the English, loaded with several articles of provisions, many chests of wine, and twenty leaguers of arrack, for the use of the people. At the same time this humanity was shown to the people on board the ships, the Governor's house was so filled with the distressed that had escaped from Calcutta, that he and his family were obliged to sleep on board a budgrow in the river. The name of the Dutch Governor, Mr. Adrian Bisdam, must ever be remembered by the English with respect.

Vernet who was kinsman to the famous French painter of that name, had been in his youth page to Louis XV and when second of the Dutch Factory at Calcapore in 1756, had also shewn much kindness to the English fugitives from Calcutta, of whom Hastings was one. His daughter, Johanna, married on November 6, 1779, as his second wife, Henry Ramus, of the Company's service, who was brother of Lady Day (Benedicta Ramus) wife of Sir John Day, the Advocate-General. Mrs. Hastings arranged the match and Francis notes in his diary (November 1779) that Day "appears to be excessively hurt.....he says it (the marriage) has been hurried in an extraordinary manner by Mrs. Hastings." Ross received several visits at Chinsurah from the Governor-General and his wife. He took grave offence in 1781, when war broke out with Holland, at the despatch of a subaltern and fourteen men to take possession of the factory, and refused to surrender until a whole regiment of sepoy was sent. (It was restored at the peace of 1783).

Isaac Titsingh had been chief of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki in Japan from 1777 to 1784 before coming to Chinsurah, and while Director in Bengal formed a friendship with Sir William Jones. In 1794 he went as minister to Peking, and died at Paris in 1812. Van Braam was Director when the settlement, which had again been seized by the English in 1795 and administered by them until 1817, was handed back to the Dutch. "On the occasion of the rehoisting of the Dutch flag at Chinsurah on Monday last," says the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 18, 1817, "the Hon'ble J. A. van Braam gave a grand dinner, and in the evening, a Ball and Supper, to Mr. Forbes, the English Commissioner, and Principal families in Chinsurah, Chandernagore and Serampore."

THE HATCHMENTS IN CHINSURAH CHURCH.

The hatchments of various notables, including some of these Directors, are displayed on the walls of the Church. They are fourteen in number, lozenge-shaped, and hung almost too high to be easily read. In *Calcutta Old and New* (p. 1006) Mr. J. J. Cotton gives the following names :—François de Hase (1676) Nicolaas Bankes (1683) Martinus Huysman (1685) Pieter van Dishoeck (1701) George Louis Vernet (1777) and Pieter Brueys (1783) once Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge "Concordia" which was established by Vernet. (8) According to the *District Gazetteer* (p. 278) the oldest are those of W. A. (1662) and Rogier van Heyningen (1665).

By the kindness of Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., the Principal of the Hooghly College, (9) and a member of the Society, we are able to give a transcription of the inscriptions that remain decipherable, and we print it below, with necessary references to the list made by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson some thirty years ago, at a time when the condition of the hatchments was better than it unhappily is to-day (*Monuments and Inscriptions in Bengal: Calcutta 1896* : pp. 122—124).

1. In the verandah or outer aisle, on the east are four hatchments :

1. Pieter Brueys—opper Koopman en Hoofd administrateur overleeden te Chintsura, 23 August[us] 1783
(Senior Merchant and Chief Administrator, died at Chinsurah, August 23, 1783).

Arms : per pale argent a pillar (?) per pale sable (?) The device is undecipherable and the colours reveal a debased heraldry.

Wilson has the following :—

Pieter Brueys Van's Hage Opper Koopman en Hoofde Administrateur overleeden te Chintsura den 23 Augustus Anno 1783 in den Ouderdon Van 52 Jaaren 9 maanen 17 daagen.

Arms : party per pale vert and argent, dexter a column argent crowned or, sinister a flower gules. Crest : a flower gules.

It will be observed that Brueys was not Director, but Chief Administrator, ranking third in Council.

(8) "Something more than a quarter of an hour's walk out of Chinsurah, towards Chandernagore, a large and handsome house was erected, during the direction of Mr. Vernet, as a lodge for the freemasons, which was completed and inaugurated while I was there. This festivity concluded in the evening with a magnificent fire-work and ball, at which the chief English and French ladies and gentlemen were equally present." Stavorinus.

(9) Local tradition relates that the fine building occupied by the Hooghly College was erected by the famous General Perron, who lived at Chinsurah for about a year after his surrender to Lake in 1803. On his departure for Europe the house came into possession of Frankissen Haldar, a leading Zemindar of the district, and magnificent entertainments are said to have been given by him in the large hall. He was subsequently convicted of forging Government securities and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment : and the premises were eventually acquired for the College which "was established through the munificence of the late Mohamad Mohsin, and opened on the 1st of August, 1836," as a stone in the Hall testifies.

2. P. V. D. obijt 1701.

The achievement and name are illegible.

Wilson comes to our aid. His version is:

P(ictet) v(an) D(ishoek). Obijt 12 Janu: Ao. 1701. Arms (not very legible): party per fess gules and sable. Crest: three torches argent flamed gules.

3. Den Weledelen Achtbaar Heer George Lou: Vernet inleeven Directeur.
... Jan: 1711, obijt tot Batavia, 1775.

(The Noble and Worshipful Mr. George Louis Vernet, late Director).

Arms: gules, a bend or sinister, in chief a star of the second.

Wilson supplies the missing words, and interprets the achievement somewhat differently:

Den Weledelen Achtbaaren Heer George Lou[is] Vernet in Leeven Directeur [van Bengalen geboren tot's Gravenhage den] 11 Januarij ano. 1711 obijt tot Batavia [den 13 December] 1775 [oud 64 Jaar:] Arms: gules a bend sinister argent, in dexter chief a star argent. No crest.

4. Entirely illegible, except the date 1778.

The date enables us to gain a clue from Wilson:

Tammerus Canter Visscher in Leeven Opper Koopman Secunde der Bengalsche Directie en opper hoofde de Cassimbassa[ar] Geb: te Pen[jum] in Vriesland den 11 Augustus ann: 1729 ob: te Cassimbasaar den[31] Januar: anno 1778 oud 48 Jaaren 5 Maanen en 20 daagen.

(Late Senior Merchant. Second Member of the Direction in Bengal and Chief of Cossimbazar [Calcapore], born at Penium in Friesland on August 11, 1729, died at Cossimbazar on January 31, 1778, at the age of 48 years 5 months and 20 days).

Arms: quarterly 1st and 4th argent two muskets crossed in saltire over a sword in pale, all ppr., 2nd sable 3 mullets in fess or, 3rd gules 3 scollops argent. The crest and that portion of the inscription which is enclosed in brackets, had peeled off, when Dr. Wilson made his copy.

II. On the east wall of the Church are three more:

5. T. A. Bodle: ob: 15 December 1774.

Arms displayed on a lozenge surmounted by a ducal coronet: first and fourth, gules a cherubim or, displayed proper: second and third three fleur-de-lys or.

The lozenge makes it clear that the person commemorated is a lady: and her identity is thus revealed by Wilson:

T[heodora] A[ntoinette Mejuffrouw] Bodle. ob. 15 Dec. 1774 aet: 45

Arms: quarterly 1st and 4th an angel displayed ppr., 2nd and 3rd azure three fleurs de lys or. Supporters two griffins party per pale azure and argent. Surmounted by the coronet of a Marquis. No crest.

6. Name and date illegible.

Arms: gules a leopard (?) or, passant guardant, in chief two stars of the second.

This achievement is surrounded by four small escutcheons of pretence, the achievements of which are undecipherable.

This must be the following as copied by Wilson:

[Francois de Hase.] Obijt de Hasen-velter den 26 October anno 1676. Below are two coats of arms over which are inscribed the names Van Wissel and Van Essen. One only was decipherable.

Arms: gules two stars or, in chief a hare courant or. Crest: a demi hare courant or.

7. Name illegible: 1732 (?)

Arms: two bears sable rampant, in combat. Crest, a bear sable, Wilson is only partially able to help us here.

R. B. Obijt 28 Novr. a. 1733.

Arms: gules two bears sejant sable. Crest: a bear sejant sable. Surmounted by a knight's helmet.

III. On the south wall, of the Church are three:

8. W. A. 1668.

Arms: or, a double fleur-de-lys gules.

Wilson's date is wrongly transcribed, but otherwise the description is a full one.

Obijt W. A. den 13 Augustus ano. 1662.

Arms: or two fleurs-de-lys gules. Crest: a moor's head couped sable filleted or.

(The date should be 1668).

9. N. B. 1683.

Arms: argent an eagle sable displayed proper, per pale gules a device which is illegible.

Wilson's version is complete.

Nicolaas Bankes. Obijt 19 Meij. Ao. 1683.

Arms: party per pale argent and sable, dexter a demi eagle displayed sable, sinister a device $\frac{4}{N. B.}$ Crest: a horse's head erased argent.

10. R. V. H. 1665.

Arms: or fesswise three batons gules: in chief a demi-lyon rampant of the second. Crest, a demi-lyon rampant, gules, on a cap of maintenance.

This hatchment is one of the best from a heraldic point of view.

The necessary details are once more furnished by Wilson.

[Rogier van Heyningen.] Obijt R. V. H. den 9 Juni anno 1665.

Arms: or in chief a lion decouped gules, in base three pellets. Crest: a lion decouped gules.

IV. Lastly, on the west wall are four :

11. M. H. 1685.

Arms : partially obliterated.

Wilson gives no achievement, but has the following.

M[arten] H[uy]sman]. Obijt 5 Juni Ano. 1685.

(Director from 1684 to 1685).

12. Name and arms illegible : 1700 (?)

A study of Wilson's list would seem to indicate the following restoration :

Jno. Isinck geb. 9 Julij 1709 te Groningen. Gestorven 25 Sept. 17—.

No achievement.

The date deciphered as 1700 is probably 1709.

13. Theodora Hendrika Pickenbroek in Leeven Huysvrouw

Van D. Agtbr. Heer Boudewijn

Verselwel Faure ond : eerste

Secretaris van D. Hooge Regering

en Directeur

space for

van Bengalen

geboren tot

coat of

Batavia

den 21 Julij

arms

anno 1746

obijt tot Bengalen

den 27 Mart. Ao. 1770 oud

23 Jaaren 8 Maanen

en 6 daagen.

Arms on a lozenge argent a gryphon rampant gules. Surmounted by a Countess's coronet.

This hatchment is in excellent preservation and the inscription can be plainly read. Van D. Agtbr is an abbreviation for "van den Achthaaren." The translation runs :—"Late wife of the Worshipful Mr. Boudewyn Verselwel Faure, first under Secretary of the High Government and Director of Bengal, born at Batavia on July 21, 1746, died in Bengal on March 27, 1770, aged 23 years 8 months, 6 days."

14. Boudewijn

Verselwel

Faure in Leeven ond :

eerste secretaris van de

Hooge Regering en Directeur

[van] Bengalen

(Coat of arms)

geboren tot Dendermonde

den 25 Jan. anno 1734.

obijt tot Bengalen den 6 Meij anno 1770 oud

36 Jaaren 5 Maan.

en 11 Daagen.

Arms : chequy argent and gules, in chief or a bull's head sable coupé ppr. Crest : two wings, sinister argent, dexter gules.

Mr. Ramsbotham notes : " Although no coronet is displayed as in the wife's achievement, the coat as blazoned is obviously a good one."

In addition to these fourteen hatchments, there are three stones in the vestry, let into the wall. Mention has already been made of the centre stone which commemorates the building of the tower by Director Sichterman in 1742.

The left hand stone is thus inscribed :

Petrus Andrea Zinner
geboren den 2 April, 1769
overleeden den 1 Xber 1769
zoon van den capit : militair
Jan Hendrik Zinner

A skeleton is then drawn (10) and the following lines appear below :

Soo ghy nubent was ick voor dese
Soo ick nuben sult ghy ook noch wiese
(As thou art, I was ere now :
As I am now, thou shalt be too.)

The right hand stone bears the following inscription :

Arnolda Johanna
dochter van den Capitan Militair
Jan Hendrik Zinner
Geboren den 11 Februarij A.D. 1765
overleeden den 12 Februarij A.D. 1767.
oud 2 jaaren 10 lenren.

(The infant son and daughter of the Captain of the Troops).

An English translation has recently been placed above the daughter tabler in which " lenren " is rendered " hours."

Wilson gives in addition an inscription to a third child of the same family who died on October 7, 16, 1768, aged seven months and eighteen days : but it does not appear to have been preserved.

Ten of the hatchments are earlier in date than the church (1767) and were probably brought from Fort Gustavus. Mr. Johan van Manen, to whom we are indebted for assistance in the translation of the Dutch inscriptions, informs us that the neglected condition of the hatchments in the Church has lately engaged the attention of the Dutch residents of Calcutta; but that no practical steps have yet been taken. From the foregoing description it will be seen that in more than one instance the process of decay has gone too far to be arrested. Mr. Ramsbotham, who has twice examined the hatchments with the utmost care, writes that they were removed from their original position, (high up near the roof of the church, where they could scarcely be seen) and hung as they now are by Mr. Bradley Birt, when Collector of Hooghly from 1915 to 1917. But they are still difficult of access, and it is necessary to mount a chair in order to make out the inscriptions. The paint in several cases is much faded. In several cases also the achievements are hopelessly

(10) Mr. Fulford Williams in his article makes mention of two skeletons and an hour glass.

inaccurate and break the first rules of heraldry, for example, by charging colour on colour. It would seem that some of the "directeurs" were not *armigeri* by birth, but were provided with an achievement by un-heraldically minded friends.

Mr. Toynbee observes in his book that "no token remains to tell that the settlement once belonged to the Dutch but the escutcheons of the Governors which still continue to adorn the walls of the Church." This is not strictly correct. Many records (Dorp Books) in the Dutch language are stored in the Judge's office. The remains of a road called "Van Hoorn's Dyke" were to be seen in the time of Mr. Toynbee himself (1868) between Chinsurah and Chandernagore railway station. A still more impressive relic survives in the shape of the tomb of Mrs. Susannah Yeates which is to be found near the fourth furlong post of the 25th mile on the Grand Trunk Road. This was specifically handed over, along with the church and the cemetery, to the Bishop of Calcutta on the final evacuation of the settlement by the Dutch on May 7, 1825. It is thus described by Col. D. G. Crawford I.M.S. (*Bengal Past and Present* vol. III p. 98):

The Tomb is a fine old mausoleum some thirty feet high. An arched chamber some fifteen feet high stands on a small slate plinth six feet high, and above it rises a dome with a small pinnacle on its summit. Round the dome, in letters nearly a foot high, is inscribed the name "Susanna Anna Maria Yeates." In the large chamber is a slab with an epitaph in Dutch:

"Ter Gedagtenis van Susanna Anna Maria Yeates Geboorene Verkerk obit den 12 Maij Anno 1809."

Ik Lag in het graft zonder geklag
En rust dar tot den jongsten dag
Dan zult gy Heer mijn graft out dekken
En mij ter eeuwige Vrengd verstrekken.
(I lie in this grave without complain
In rest until the Judgment Day
Then shall you, Lord, open my grave
And take me to eternal joy).

The first husband of the lady was Pieter Brueys (the subject of one of the hatchments in the church) and she then married one Thomas Yeates. By a will executed in 1805 she left the sum of Rs. 4,000 to the inhabitants of Chinsurah upon trust. The interest was to be applied in the first instance to the upkeep of the tombs of herself and her two husbands, and the surplus was to be paid into the Chinsurah Poor Fund which was established by the Dutch Government prior to the British occupation in 1795, and enables the magistrate to give small pensions to various poor Christians. Mrs. Yeates also left a house known as Ayesh Bagh on the Taldanga road, together with sixty bighas of land, to be used as a burying ground for the English and Dutch residents. She was herself buried in the garden, but the rest of the

direction was not carried out, the existing cemetery being enlarged instead in the year 1833.

In the Catholic chapel (which was built in 1740) another memorial of the Dutch occupation may be seen in the shape of a bell with the following inscription, as recorded by the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J. : " Ioan : Nicolaus Derck me fecit Hornae ao. 1734." (Jan Nicolaas Derck made me at Hoorn in 1734).

There are also numerous tombs of Dutch officials in the old Dutch cemetery Chinsurah must have been a healthy place in the days of the Mynheers : for one of them commemorates Gregory Herklote, Fiscal of Chinsurah, who resided there for 43 years and died at the age of 84 in 1852, leaving eighty-one descendants. Daniel Overbeck, the last Dutch Director who was pensioned off and died in 1840 (11), and his son (1831) may also be found here. On the latter's tomb are engraved the pathetic words : " His father envies him his grave." Here too are buried two married daughters of Charles Weston who lived at Chinsurah in the 1780's and on the first of each month made it his practice to distribute a hundred gold mohurs to the poor. Another tombstone in the cemetery records the death in 1793 of Mrs. H. A. Borwater, " relict of the Hon'ble George Louis Vernet Ci-devant Director of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal." (12) And, if we choose to make a search, who knows that we may not light upon the tombs of " the antient merchant van der Zank "

(11) Both Herklots and Overbeck were examined as witnesses at the trial at Hooghly in November, 1838, of the mysterious individual who claimed to be Protap Chand, the son of Maharajadhiraj Babalur Tej Chand of Burdwan. Overbeck who had known the real Protap Chand well up to the time of his death in January, 1821, deposed that the prisoner in his opinion was the " Chota Raja " and that he was the original of George Chinnery's portrait of Protap Chand, which was produced in Court. Herklots had " no precise recollection " of Protap Chand's features, but gave it as his impression that the prisoner was not the Raja. Allusion was made by Overbeck to the strong rumour current at the time of Protap Chand's death that the Raja had fled from the burning ghat at Kalna, and that a trunk filled with ashes was placed on the pyre and consumed. The prisoner was convicted : and on the case being referred to the Court of Nizamut Adwlut at the Presidency, he was declared to be a person of the name of Krishna Lal Brahmachari, of the village of Geari in the Nadia district. He was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 1,000 and in default to imprisonment for six months : and died at Barnagore at the end of 1857 or the beginning of 1858. The case created an enormous sensation. Mr. Toynbee (p. 152) quotes the Magistrate of Hooghly (Mr. E. A. Samuells) as writing in June, 1838, that it was most necessary to bring the proceedings to a speedy conclusion in order to " allay the excitement which at present prevails with imminent danger to the peace of the country." For those who are able to read Bengali, a good book upon the subject of this case is " Jai Pratapchand " by Sanib Chandra Chatterjee.

(12) In this cemetery also was buried the infant son of " Colonel George William Hessing in the Service of Dowlut Row Scindiah " who died on July 27, 1806, at the age of 3 years 8 months and 21 days. Hessing surrendered when Lake captured the Fort of Agra in 1804, and retired to Chinsurah with a fortune of five lakhs of rupees. He removed later on to Calcutta, and died there on January 6, 1826, at the age of 44 years. His mother was an Indian woman and his father, Colonel John Hessing, was a Dutchman who came out to India in 1764, and after a variety of adventures filled the post of commandant of the Fort at Agra under Scindiah from 1800 until his death on July 21, 1803, at the age of 63. Lord Metcalfe, when assistant resident in the camp of Scindiah, breakfasted with him in March, 1801, and found " the Dutchman as polite as a Dutchman could be."

and "the widow van der Zee," with whom good Mr. Simms, senior assistant in the firm of Messrs. Sheringham, Leith, Badgery, and Hay, used to take tea?

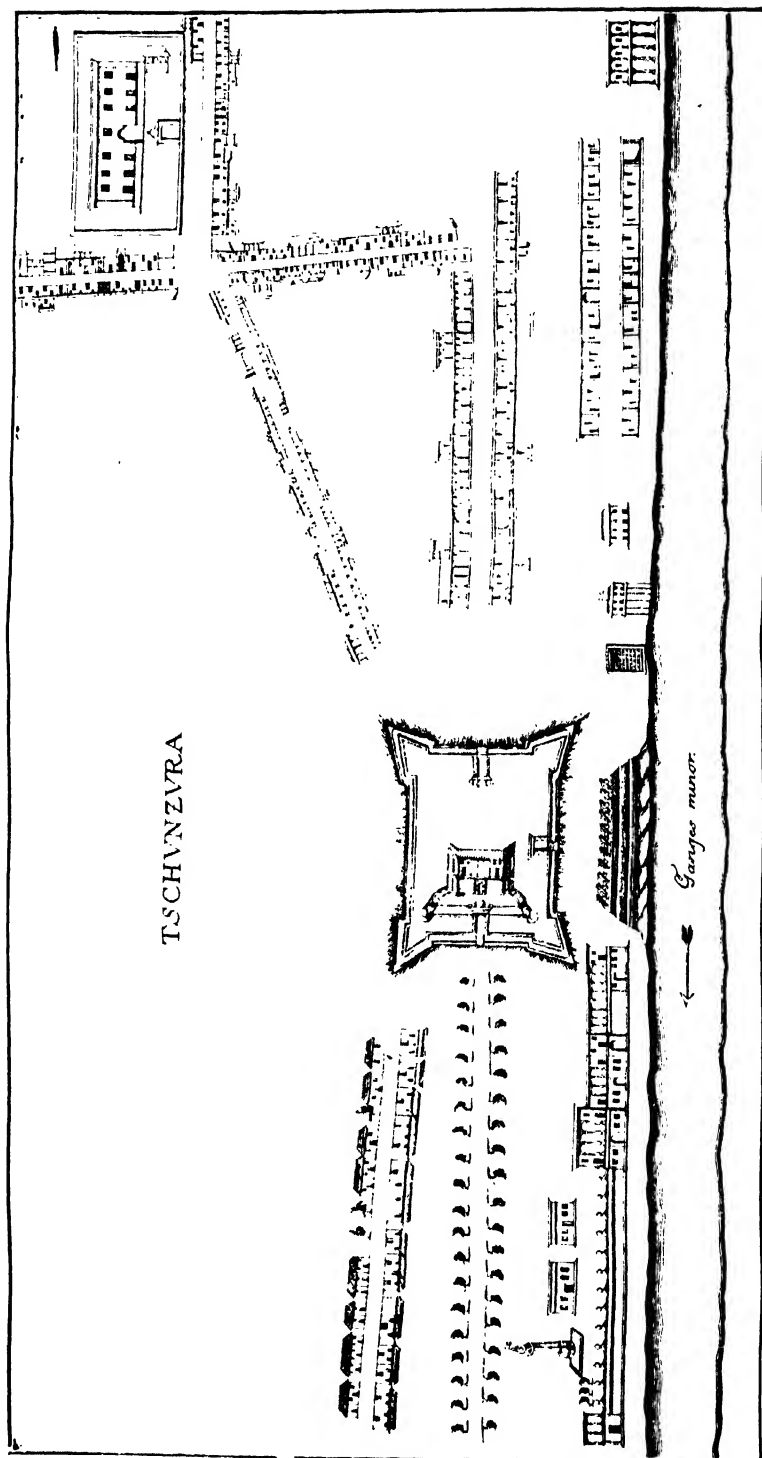
Time was, indeed, when Chinsurah was looked upon a desirable "week end" resort for the wealthy inhabitants of Calcutta: and rents were high. A two-storeyed large house, on the river side, is advertised (for example) in the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 15, 1784, to let at Chinsurah, at a monthly rental of Rs. 250. William Lushington, of the Company's service, and brother of Henry Lushington, who survived the Black Hole only to be murdered at Patna in 1763 by the infamous Sumroo, had a house there: an "elegant commodious upper roomed house, known as Houghly Hall, situate on the banks of the river at Houghly, and commanding a most delightful and extensive prospect." (May 13, 1790). The Dutchmen themselves lived in great state. On April 30, 1789, the house is advertised for sale of the late A. Bogaard, second in Council at Chinsurah. It is described as a large dwelling house with two halls, eight lower rooms, and one upper room. There was in addition a garden house, two miles to the west, with 29 bighas of ground, containing fruit trees, two tanks, and a deer park well stocked with twenty different kinds of deer.

At Chinsurah also the beautiful Miss Emma Wrangham, who figures in Hickey's *Gazette* as "Turban Conquest, the Chinsurah Belle," held her court: and it was there that her marriage was solemnized on May 27, 1782 with John Bristow, of the Company's service, a constant attendant at the levees of Philip Francis, while the quarrel with Hastings was at its height. Francis also, after the legal proceedings which followed his escapade at Grand's house, established the lady who had cost him fifty thousand sicca rupees ("siccas, siccas, brother Impey") at Houghly in September 1779 under the charge of his cousin Major Philip Baggs, a notorious gambler and so-called "sportsman," who had just arrived in Calcutta, fresh from a duel in France with "Fighting Fitzgerald," another gentleman of the same kidney (13). The entries in his diary show that Francis was a frequent visitor. "At Hooghly where I propose to stay as long as I can, and visit Calcutta as seldom as I can," he writes on November 2, 1779. But Baggs was ordered out of India by the Court of Directors, and sailed on January 3, 1780, when the house was advertised for sale in Hickey's *Gazette*: and Francis followed his example in December of the same year.

Such are some of the memories which cluster around this Old Dutch settlement: but they are memories only. In 1829 there were seventy-six Christian, and presumably, European, inhabitants of eighteen years and over in Chinsura. Nowadays the only European residents are Government officials, railway men, and missionaries. Ichabod. The glory of the Old Dutch Settlement, once "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes," has departed.

H. E. A. COTTON

(13) There is a reference in the second volume of "The Memoirs of William Hickey" to "Jack Baggs," the Major's brother, who was keeping a tavern in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1775, after having run through £25,000 in London in the course of four years.



PLAN OF CHINSURAH—1765 :
(From Father J. Tieffenthaler's Description de l'Inde)

Appendix.

FATHER J. TIEFFENTHALER'S PLAN OF CHINSURAH (1765)

Father Joseph Tieffenthaler S.J. was a native of Bolzano (Botzen) in the Tyrol and arrived at Surat by a Portuguese boat from Goa in 1743. He spent forty-two years in India, and a plain tombstone at the back of the old Catholic Church at Lucknow marks his last resting place. It is inscribed: "Father J. Tieffenthaler. Died at Lacnoi on 5th July, 1785." His travels covered the greater part of Upper India and the Deccan: and he made a journey in 1765 from Narwar in Central India to Bengal. There is, strangely enough, no account of Calcutta in his historical and geographical "*Beschreibung von Hindostan*," which was originally written in Latin and was published in German by Dr. John Bernouilli, a Berlin astronomer of repute, in 1785. A complete copy of this German version in two volumes is to be seen in the library of St. Mary's College, Kurseong, and an edition in French in three volumes ("*Description de l'Inde*") is in the library of the late Archbishop of Goethals at Calcutta. The work contains forty maps, plans of fortresses and views of cities, most of which are drawn by Tieffenthaler. A second book (also brought out by Bernouilli) gives a description of the Ganges with three large maps showing the course of that river and the Gogra. (See "*Joseph Tieffenthaler S.J., a Forgotten Geographer of India*": by the Rev. Father S. Noti, S.J., published at Bombay, in 1906: a copy of which was obligingly lent to the writer by the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J.).

The plan of Chinsurah in 1765, which faces this page, is taken from the "*Description de l'Inde*." Other places of which plans are given are Bandel, Chandernagore, Moorshidabad, and Cossimbazar, including Calcapore.

Father Tieffenthaler's account of Chinsurah is thus given in the French edition of the book (Berlin, 1786: Vol. I, p. 456):

Attenant à Hougli est Tschunsura, Colonie Hollandoise, avec un port.

Les maisons y sont construites à la manière d'Europe: elle est très peuplée à cause de sa commerce. Sa forteresse est munie de 4 bastions et d'un fossé selon les formes de l'architecture militaire de l'Europe: 24 canons garnissent le rivage et en defendent l'approche aux navires ennemis.

La maison grande et magnifique du Gouverneur Hollandois est dans l'enceinte de la forteresse et accompagnée d'un beau jardin situé sur le rivage orné de bâtimens et planté pour la récréation. Les principales rues sont assez larges pour le pays, celle surtout qui mène à la place due marché.

Baptisms in Calcutta : 1767 to 1777.

THE list of Baptisms in Calcutta from 1767 to 1788 (of which the first instalment is now printed covering the period from 1767 to 1777) completes the transcript made by the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge of the Imperial Library, from the Registers of St. John's Church. Previous extracts from the Register have appeared in the following volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* :—

Baptisms in Calcutta : 1713 to 1758 : Vol. XXI, pp. 142 to 159.

1759 to 1766: Vol. V, pp. 325 to 332.

Marriages in Calcutta : 1713 to 1754 : Vol. IX, pp. 217 to 243.

1759 to 1779: Vol. IV, pp. 486 to 512.

1780 to 1785: Vol. VII, pp. 164 to 171.

1785 to 1792: Vol. XVI, pp. 41 to 71.

1781 to 1800 (Supplementary Register): Vol. XXI,
pp. 76 to 141.

Burials in Calcutta: 1713 to 1755: Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.

1759 to 1761: Vol. V. pp. 136 to 142.

1762 to 1774: Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

1767.

- Jan. — Elizabeth, daughter of Willm. Bowey and Thomzey, his wife.
Mar. 26. Daniel, son of John Woodward.
June 16. Ann, daughter of Hugh Baillie and Ann, his wife, (1).
Aug. — James, son of Jas. Leighler.
Sept. 8. Charlotte, daughter of Richd. Becher, Esq., of Council and Ann,
his wife, (2).
Nov. 7. Charlotte, daughter of John Taylor, and Dorothy, his wife, (3).
.. 10. Elizth. Hannah, daughter of Thos. Gibson and Elizth., ditto.
.. 12. Francis Willm., son of Francis Sykes, Esq., of Council and
Catharine, his wife, (4).
Dec. 2. Ann, daughter of Geo. Scott.
.. 12. Ann, daughter of Robt. Shearman.
.. 21. Sarah Jane, daughter of John Morris and Jane, his wife.
.. 29. Belinda, daughter of Capt. Jno. Skinner.
.. 30. Mary, daughter of Jno. Cresceptor.

1768.

- Jan. 4. Susanna Ann, daughter of Henry Goodwin and Susanna, his wife.
.. 13. Mary, daughter of Major Jno. Cummings, (5).

- Jan. 20. Eleanor, daughter of Geo. Williamson and Eleanor, his wife.
 „ 25. John, son of John Knott, (6).
 „ 31. John, son of John Heylass.
 June 25. Frances, daughter of Arthur Achmuty, Esq., and Ursula, his wife, (7).
 Oct. 15. Geo. Henry, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., and Sarah, his wife, (8).
 „ 26. Sarah, daughter of Capt. Thos. Pearson, and Sarah, Do., lately deceased, (9).
 Nov. 7. William, son of Capt. Benjamin Ashe and Mary, his wife.
 „ 11. James, son of Mr. Jas. Mackie, Capt. of a Country Ship, by a Portuguese named Catelamontiere.
 Dec. 11. Richd., son of John Harpur Hudson, Pilot's Service, by a slave named Fanny.
 „ 12. William, son of Chas. Weston, and Amelia, his wife, (10).
 „ 24. John, son of Francis Sykes, Esq., of Council and Catharine, his wife, (11).
 „ 27. Ann, daughter of Mrs. Rebecca Tingle, widow.
 „ 30. Margaret, daughter of Page Keble, Esq., and Christian, his wife, (12).

(Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain.*

1769.

- Jan. 6. Jane, daughter of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, Do., (13).
 „ 18. Richd., son of Mr. John Man by a Portuguese named Dominga.
 „ 21. Christina, daughter of Hugh Baillie, Esq., and Ann, his wife.
 Feb. 7. Ann Droza, (f). late a slave belonging to Mr. Michael Eaton. Aged 15.
 Mar. 9. Thos. Robt., son of Mr. John Knott.
 15. John Wedderburn Saml. Thomas, son of Capt. John Miller and Isabella, his wife, (14).
 16. Harry Verelst, son of Lionel Darell, Esq., and Isabella, his wife (15).
 28. Walter Wright, son of Thos. Rumbold, Esq., (16).
 April 23. Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Willm. Richards, Capt. of a country vessel, by a Portuguese named Catharine.
 June 17. Catharine Paulina, daughter of Thos. Gibson, Esq., and Elizth.. his wife.
 Sept. 1. Ann, daughter of Jas. Brewther, Pilot's Service, and Ann, his wife.
 „ 24. Anna Maria Theresa, daughter of Capt. Willm. Tolly and Anna Maria, Do., (17).
 Nov. 14. Edward, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., and Sarah, Do., (18).
 „ 27. Willm., son of Willm. Hall Inhabitant.

(Sd.) T. Yate.

- Dec. 9. Anna Bella }
Elizabeth } twin daughters of Capt. Horton Briscoe and Maria,
his wife, (19).
.. 15. Jane, daughter of Mr. Robt. Stewart, Capt. of a country ship.
.. 15. Christian, daughter of Capt. Jas. Stewart, deceased.
.. 15. Willm., son of Jos. Greenway, Free Merchant.
.. 15. Mary, (f). a Coffre, belonging to Capt. Gordon, Master of a country ship, lately dec'd. Aged 15.
.. 22. Robt. Wm. John, son of Capt. Richd. Lauder, Co.'s Service.
.. 25. Elizth., daughter of Pat. McTaggart, Captn., Country Ship.
(Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain*.

1770.

- Jan. 1. Amelia, daughter of Erasmus Gunderstrape and Elizth., his wife.
.. 13. Mary, daughter of Robt. Colville and Mary, Do.
.. 22. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Joshua Nixon and Ann, Do., (20).
.. 24. Mary, daughter of Jas. Sidwell, Soldier in Ye. Artillery.
.. 31. Mary, daughter of Saml. Skardon and Mary, his wife.
Feb 13. Fleming Richd., son of Mr. Nicholas Grueber and Hannah, Do.,
(21).
.. 13. John, son of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, Do.
.. 26. Robt., son of Andrew Williams, Surgn., 1st Brigade, and Elizth.,
his wife.
Mar. 25. James, son of Chas. Ellis, Invalid.
April. 2. Mary, daughter of Henry Cornish, Soldr., 2nd Brigade.
.. 19. George, son of John Budge, Capt., Country Vessel.
May 27. George, son of Geo. Dring, Mate, Ditto.
June 11. James, son of Mr. Chas. Weston and Amelia, his wife.
.. 16. Charles and John, sons of Mr. Blasius Godley Wright, (22).
.. 28. Robt. Alexr. Gregory, son of Capt. Arthur Achmuty and Ursula,
his wife.

(Sd.) T. Yate.

(Sd.) Jo. Baines.

- July. 14. John, son of Mr. Willm. Atkinson.
.. 19. Mary, daughter of John Johnson, Master in ye. Pilot's Service, and
Joanna, his wife, (23).
Aug. 29. Mary, daughter of Geo. Downie, Capt. of a country vessel.
Sept. 23. Charles, son of Julia, a slave.
Oct. 5. Charles, son of Philip Leale, a Portuguese, and Anna, his wife, (24).
.. 12. James, son of Capt. Jas. Dunbar.
.. 16. Phillis, daughter of Mr. Geo. Rook, Lieut., Co.'s Service and
Phillis, his wife, (25).
Nov. 11. Elizth., daughter of Thos. Morris, Attorney and Lucy, his wife.
.. 18. Willm., son of Henry Roberts, Soldier.

- Nov. 18. Joseph, son of Jos. Baxter, Soldier.
 Dec. 17. Helena Frances, daughter of Major Christian Fischer and Elizth.,
 his wife, (26).
 „ 27. Richd. Fredk., son of Henry Fredk. Thompson and Sarah, his wife.
 (Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain*.

1771.

- Jan. 9. George, son of Thos. Dixon, Capt. of a country ship.
 „ 22. Mary Wortley, daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Cummings and Mary,
 his wife.
 „ 29. James, son of Sarah Hearn, deceased, (27).
 „ 13. Willm., son of John Graham, Esq., and Mary, his wife, (28).
 „ 13. Frances, daughter of Ditto. and Ditto.
 Feb. 18. Robt., son of Mrs. Amelia Gunderstrape, widow.
 Mar. 24. Moses, son of Moses Underwood, (29).
 „ 26. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Gibson and Elizth., his wife. Aged 1 year.
 „ 26. Chas., son of Do. and Do. Do.
 April 2. Ann Rebecca, daughter of Mr. Robt. Crawford and Elizth., Do.
 May 21. Henry, son of Capt. Mackenzie.
 „ 27. John, son of Chas. Floyer, Esq., of Council and Catharine, his
 wife, (30).
 June 2. Robt., son of John Bryson, Invalid.
 July 15. Frances, daughter of Mr. Revell, (31).
 Aug. 30. Richard, son of Willm. Birchall.
 Sept. 3. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Joshua Nixon and Ann, his wife.
 „ 7. John Chas., son of Chas. Augs. Fredk. Skenitz and Ann, Do.
 „ 9. Cordelia Ann, daughter of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, Do.
 Oct. 20. Fredk. Willm., son of Willm. Lane, Soldier.
 „ 21. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Geo. Hadley.
 Nov. 7. Robt., son of Robt. Macfarlane and Sarah, his wife.
 „ 9. Willm., son of John Mawn, Capt. of a country vessel.
 Dec. 4. Willm., son of Mr. Robt. Fowke and Kitty Lavinia, his wife.
 „ 6. Mary, daughter of Mr. Willm. Lushington and Paulina, Do., (32).
 „ 19. Sarah, daughter of Edward Wallis, Capt. of a country vessel.
 „ 28. Robt., son of Robt. Donald, Mate, Pilot's Service.
 „ 30. Honoria, daughter of Mr. Lionel Darrell and Isabella, his wife.
 (Sd.) T. Yate, *Chaplain*.

1772.

- Jan. 14. Anna Maria, daughter of Mr. Willm. Wynne and Anna Maria, his
 wife.
 „ 22. John, son of James Miller, Pilot's Service.
 „ 31. Christopher Titus, son of Willm. Swanton, Pte. in ye. Governor's
 Troop.
 „ 31. Henry, son of Lieut.-Col. John Cummings and Mary, his wife.

- Feb. 18 Catharine Mary, daughter of Mr. John Bathoe and Elizth., his wife.
(33).
- Mar. Rosa, daughter of Jacob Gushier, Soldr. in the Arty.
- .. 15. Ann Elizth. children of Capt. Youens.
Roger
- .. 18. George, (m). An orphan.
- .. 23. Louisa Ann, daughter of Mr. Simeon Droz and Frances, his wife,
(34).
- April 13. George, son of Mr. Gregory. Aged about 7 years.
- May 6. James, son of Capt. Jas. Harry Shaw.
- .. 10. Robt., son of Robt. Webster, Soldr. in ye. Arty.
- .. 11. Harriet, daughter of Mr. William Barton, Factor, and Harriet, his
wife, (35).
- .. 20. John, son of Capt. David Mackenzie and Ann, his wife.
- .. 29. Ann, daughter of Jas. Miller.
- .. 22. Mary, daughter of Thos. Dundas. Bapd. at Burdwan.
Chas., son of Alexr. Murray. Rev. Dr. Burn.
Margaret, daughter of Chas. Murray.
- June 15. Saml. Henry, son of Mr. Robt. Huit.
- .. 21. Chas., son of Simon Crawley, Corpl., Invalids.
- .. 28. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Geo. Showel.
Wm. Johnson, Chaplain.
- July 10. Catharine, daughter of Mr. Pawson, (36).
- .. 20. Willm., son of Wm. Barrington and Ann, his wife.
- .. 29. Robt., son of Mr. Robt. Spencer.
- Aug. 6. Ann, daughter of Mr. Joshua Nixon.
- .. 19. Sarah, daughter of Thos. Rudd and Manno, his wife.
- .. 23. Saml. } sons of Willm. Downs, Soldr.
Willm. }
- Sept. 7. Ann, daughter of Willm. Krauss.
- .. 13. Richd., son of Richd. Prynne, Soldr.
- .. 20. John Francis, son of Francis Pinnetz and Elizth., his wife.
- .. 23. Joseph, son of Martin Branwell, Pilot's Service, and Frances, his
wife.
- .. 27. Thomas, son of Major Wm. Hessman and Elizth., his wife (37).
- .. 30. Elizth., daughter of Chas. McLean, Master in ye. Pilot's Service.
- Oct. 3. Robt., son of Fredk. Hy. Thompson and Sarah, his wife.
- .. 1. Mary, daughter of John Thorby, Soldr., Arty., and Eleanor, Do.
- .. 1. Joseph, son of Jos. Wellbourne, Soldr. in ye. Arty.
- .. 1. Thos. Willm., son of Capt. John Fortnom and Jane, his wife.
- Nov. Laurentius, son of Chas. Ellis, Invalid.
- .. Elizth., daughter of Lt.-Col. Campbell, (38).
- .. Eleanor, daughter of Capt. Crosby.
- .. 22. Clarinda, daughter of Jas. Ogden, Pilot, and Clarinda, his wife.

- Nov. 26. Willm., son of Mr. Willm. Lushington and Paulina, his wife.
 .. 27. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., Do.
 .. 29. Ann, daughter of John Ruff, Soldr. in the Arty.
 Dec. 9. Mary, daughter of Mr. Fras. Gladwin, Factor, and Ann, his wife (39).
 .. 20. John, son of John Funderbank, Invalid.
 .. 23. Maria, daughter of Mr. Frans. Peacock, Free Merchant, and Sabina, his wife.
 .. 23. Maria, daughter of Mr. Touchet, (40).

1773.

- Jan. 2. John, son of John Passwater and Sarah, his wife.
 .. 2. Quarles, son of Jas. Harris, Esq., of Council and Henrietta, Do. (41).
 .. 9. Edward, son of Willm. Hall and Elizth. Do.
 .. 9. Elizth., daughter of Thos. Smith, Captn. of a country ship.
 .. 23. Chas., son of Mr. Grame.
 .. 31. Donald, son of Dond. Mackenzie, Soldr. in the Arty.
 Feb. 2. Ann, daughter of Willm. Bonfield (42).
 .. 2. Maria, daughter of Mr. Crostes (43).
 .. 13. Juliana, daughter of Mr. Robt. Barker.
 .. 13. Eliza, daughter of Capt. Geo. Burrington.
 .. 20. Henry, son of Mr. Thos. Shaw and Frances, his wife.
 .. 22. Ann, daughter of Mr. Kettle (44).
 Mar. 1. Chas. Wm. Thos., son of Mary Weekes, widow. Born, 16th July, 1770.
 .. 1. Mary Elizth. Frances, daughter of Do. Born 8th Nov., 1771.
 .. 4. Georgina Ann, daughter of Geo. Sticks, Serjt. Invalids, and Ann, his wife.
 .. 21. Ann Elizth., daughter of Mr. Robt. Dennis.
 .. 24. Arthur Hastings, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., of Council (sic) and Sarah, his wife (45).
 .. 30. Jane Georgina, daughter of Mr. Geo. Bright, Factor, and Elizth., Do.
 April 20. John, son of Edmund Leech, Serjt. in ye. 3rd-Brigade.
 May 7. Archibald, son of Archd. Robertson and Mary, his wife (46).
 .. 8. Annabella, daughter of Mr. John Summer. Born Sept. 20, 1771.
 .. 12. John, son of Richbald Reeves.
 .. 16. Willm. John Jones, son of Wm. Johnson, Sergt. in ye. 3rd-Brigade.
 .. 17. Richard, son of Richd. Finney.
 .. 23. John Hendrick, son of Richd. Stocker, Invalid.
 June 20. Amy Mary, daughter of Mr. Chas. Sealy and Mary, his wife (47).
 .. 29. Eleanor, daughter of Anthony Obrien, Pilot.

- July 4. Edwd., son of Capt. Benton, dec'd.
 „ 11. John, son of John Rivers, Invalid.
 Aug. 12. Willm. Thos., son of Ensign Thos. Brisbane.
 Sep. 12. Richd., son of Spuner and Elizth. Hicks.
 „ 19. Saml., son of John Rodgers, Soldier.
 „ 26. George, son of James Smith, Soldier.
 Oct. 24. Joseph Swallow, son of Robt. Macfarlane, Capt. of a country
 ship and Sarah, his wife, lately deceased.
 Nov. 1. Constantia Sarah, daughter of Capt. Robt. Patton and Constantia,
 his wife (48).
 „ 6. Henry, son of Mr. Willm. Lushington and Paulina, Do.
 „ 10. Willm. Orme, son of Mr. Willm. Hosea and Mary, Do. (49).
 „ 17. John, son of Mr. Cudbert Thornhill and Ursula, Do. (50).
 Dec. 5. Elizth, daughter of Willm. Watkins, Soldier.
 „ 7. Mary Diana, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Caldwell.
 „ 8. Edward, son of Mr. Cotes (51).
 „ 12. Mary, daughter of William Morris, Invalid.
 „ 15. Peter John, son of Mr. Touchet.
 „ 16. Chas., son of Mr. Bruere (52).
 „ 17. Jane, daughter of Mr. Carmichael (53).
 „ 25. Edward, son of Ed. Jackson, Soldier.
 „ 28. Elizth., daughter of John Bathoe, Esq. and Eliz. : his wife.

1774.

- Jan. 2. Amelia, daughter of Lionel Darrell, Esq. and Isabella, Do.
 „ 9. Mary, daughter of Henry Barnes, Invalid.
 „ 11. Anna Maria, daughter of Lieut. John Scott and Eliz., his wife.
 „ 16. John, son of John Grainge, Soldier.
 „ 16. William, son of Lieut.-Col. Lillyman (54).
 „ 16. Patrick, son of Lieut. Robt. Stewart.
 „ 16. Clarissa, daughter of Lieut. Harris.
 „ 23. Geo. Gowin, son of Lieut. Daniel.
 „ 28. Esther, daughter of Thos. Jones, Jr., master in ye. Militia.
 „ 29. Frances, daughter of Martin Brenwell and Frances, his wife.
 Feb. 3. Elizth. Ann, daughter of Wm. Crump and Eliz., Do.
 „ 8. Henry, son of Francis Peacock and Selina Do.
 „ 13. Ann, daughter of Wm. Lane, Serjt.
 „ 18. Ann Mary, daughter of Major Fortnom and Jane, his wife.
 „ 26. Samuel, son of Sam. Carnell and Millicent, Do.
 Mar. 6. James Willm. } Children of Jas. Scott. Serjt. of Invalids.
 „ Mary }
 „ 13. Elizth., daughter of Manuel Davis, Serjt. in ye. 1st Brigade.
 „ 14. Anne Johanna, daughter of Capt.-Lieut. Ezekl. Meeklewain.
 „ 15. Thos., son of Mr. Chas. Weston, Mercht., and Amelia, his wife.

- April. 16 Willm., son of Wm. Kraass and Rosina, his wife.
 „ 18. Mary Ursula, daughter of Mr. Chas. Sealy, Register of the Mayor's Court, and Mary, his wife (55).
 „ 24. Ambrose, son of Ambrose Rock, Inhabt.
 „ 24. John, son of Johathan (*sic.*) King, Inhabt.
 „ 30. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Tilly Kettle, Limner.
 May. 20 John, son of Mr. John Bristow (56).
 „ 20. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Richd. Parks, Mariner.
 „ 22. Martha, daughter of John Bryson.
 June 1. Richd. Geo., son of Chas. Croftes, Factor in ye. Co.'s service.
 July. 1 Edwd., son of Edwd. Longbotham, Soldier.
 „ 20. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Finney.
 Aug. 21. Thos., son of Mr. Richd. Green, Inhabt.
 Sep. 1. Anna Maria, daughter of Lieut. Dare and Melian, his wife (57).
 „ 2. George, son of John Graham, Esq. of Council, and Mary, his wife.
 „ 2. Eliza Rebekah, daughter of Do. Do. and Do. Do.
 „ 3. Carolina Ann, daughter of Geo. Vansittart, Esq. of Council and Sarah, Do.
 „ 3. Sarah, daughter of Mr. John Wattel and Carolina, Do.
 „ 4. Geo. Augs., son of Robt. Hooley, Soldier.
 „ 4. Ann, daughter of Mr. Richd. Knivet, Inhabt.
 „ 15. Robt. James, son of Mr. Jas. Goold, Inhabt.
 „ 16. Elinor Ann, daughter of Capt. Wm. Skinner, late in ye. service of ye. Hon. Co.
 „ 18. Saly (*sic.*), daughter of Simon Sattel, Soldier.
 Oct. 4. Caroline, daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Cumming and Mary, his wife.
 „ 9. Samuel, son of Moses Conor, Taylor.
 „ 13. John Vansell, son of John Vansell.
 „ 15. Richd., son of Major Arthur Ahmuty in ye. Hon. Co.'s service and Ursula, his wife. (58).
 „ 15. Mary, daughter of David and Sophia Deane.
 „ 16. Mary, daughter of Thos. Harris.
 „ 16. Margaret, daughter of John Reeves and Margt., his wife.
 Nov. 18. Annas (*sic.*), daughter of Capt. Robt. Patton and Constantia, his wife.
 „ 20. John, son of John Power.
 „ 23. John, son of James and Rose Murray.
 „ 24. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Charles, writer, Hon. Co.'s service, and Jane, his wife.
 Dec. 12. Amelia, daughter of Richd. and Sarah Smith.
 „ 19. John, son of Thos. Pattle, Factor, Hon. Co.'s service (59), and (blank), his wife.
 „ 24. Mary, daughter of Richd. Harris.
 „ 26. Elizth., daughter of Saml. Middleton, Esq. (60).

1775.

- Jan. 2. Alexander, son of John Rous and Elizth, his wife.
 „ 3. Thos., son of Thos. Peterkin, Capt. of a country ship.
 „ 15. Harriet, daughter of Mr. James Dulwich, Surgn.
 „ 15. Robt., son of Robt. Thurton and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 22. Agnes, daughter of Mr. James Miller.
 „ 23. Saml. Howe, son of Capt. Saml. Howe Showers and Ann, his wife, (61).
- Feb. 11. Alexr., son of John Walter, Serjt.
 „ 11. Edwd., son of Mr. Edwd. Parry, Jr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service, and Amelia, his wife.
 „ 11. Eliza Sophia, daughter of Lieut. Scot, Hon. Co.'s service and Eliza, Do.
 „ 22. Maria, daughter of Mr. John Hannay. (62).
 „ 22. Harriot, daughter of Mr. Chas. Short. (63).
 „ 22. Charles, son of Mr. Chas Short.
 „ 23. Margaret, daughter of Late Patrick Clough, Surgn.
- Mar. 2. Frances Maria, daughter of Robt. Chambers, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court and Frances, his wife. (64).
 „ 8. Thos., son of David Robinson, Soldier.
 „ 22. Thos. Robt., son of John Allinghame and Chunia (?) his wife.
- April. 2. John, son of Mr. Brigs, Taylor.
 „ 19. Thomas, son of Ensign Edwards.
 „ 20. John, son of Mr. Macpherson, Sergt.
 „ 20. Mary, daughter of Mattw. Wilmot, Painter. (65).
 „ 21. Elizth., daughter of Late Jas. Lewis Brown.
 „ 21. Elizth., daughter of John Sutton, Mariner.
- May 2. Mary, daughter of Peter Gilreth.
 „ 2. Catherine, daughter of John Boltain, Soldier.
 „ 3. Willm., son of Major Tolly and Anna Maria, his wife.
- June 7. Harriot, daughter of John Marquet, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 7. Alexander, son of Daniel Macswain, Carpenter.
 „ 19. Elizth., daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Cumming and Mary, his wife.
 „ 19. Frederick, son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth. Do.
- July. 12. Margaret, daughter of Mr. Chas. Grant, writer and Jane, his wife. (66).
 „ 16. Isabella, daughter of Alexr. Smart and Mary Rosara.
 „ 23. Catharina, daughter of Willm. White, Soldier.
- Aug. 15. Lucinda, daughter of John Bathoe, Esq., Sr. Mercht., and Elizth, his wife.
 „ 17. Harriot, daughter of Mr. John Belli, Mercht., (67).
 „ 27. Richd., son of Robt. Bolton and Hora, his wife.
 „ 27. Lionel son of Mr. Lionel Darrel, Sr. Merch, and Isabella, his wife.

- Sep. 2. Catharine, daughter of John Mackenzie, Corpl.
 „ 21. George, son of Neil Macklean, Do.
 Oct. 8. George, son of Johnathan King Cooper. (68).
 „ 8. George, son of John Dring, Mariner.
 „ 15. Mary, daughter of Lieut. John Cowe.
 „ 21. James, son of Major Arthur Ackmuty (sic.) and Ursula, his wife.
 Nov. 5. James, son of Jas. Roquier, Matross.
 „ 10. Frederick, son of Geo. Vansittart, Esq., Member of the Board of
 Commerce, and Sarah, his wife. (69).
 „ 19. Robt., son of Robt. Dunlop.
 „ 23. Richd., son of Richd. Cary.
 Dec. 2. Hastings, son of Lieut. Wm. Dare and Amelia Ann, his wife. (70)
 „ 2. Amelia, daughter of Edwd. Parry, Factor in the Co.'s service, and
 Amelia, his wife.
 „ 13. George, son of Mr. John Rosewell.
 „ 25. Charlotte Elizth., daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Fortnom and Jane,
 his wife.

1776.

- Jan. 20. Henrietta Amelia, daughter of Mr. William Cotes, Junior Mercht.,
 and Diana, his wife. (51).
 „ 20. William, son of Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.
 „ 21. Charles, son of Mr. Chas. Sealy, Register of the Supreme Court,
 and Mary, his wife.
 „ 29. Jannet, daughter of Mr. Willm. Walker, Free Merchant.
 Feb. 11. John, son of John Allen, Soldier.
 „ 11. Richard, son of Simon Suttle, Do.
 „ 24. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Merchant. (71).
 „ 24. Isabella, daughter of Mr. Francis Gladwin, Jr. Merchant.
 „ 15. Richmond, son of Mr. Peter Moore, Factor Hon. Co.'s service
 and Sarah, his wife. (72).
 Mar. 7. John Henry, son of Mr. Jas. Macknab and Christian, his wife.
 „ 15. George Gilbert, son of Mr. Page Keble, Marine Store-keeper,
 Hon. Co.'s service, and Christiana, his wife.
 „ 15. Richd., son of Mr. Wm. Evans, Writer in ye. co.'s service.
 „ 15. Amelia, daughter of Mr. Wm. Evans, Writer in ye. Co.'s service.
 „ 25. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Henry Wedderburn, Master Attendant,
 Hon. Co.'s service and Alice, his wife. (73).
 „ 26. Chas., son of Mr. Wm. Wordie, Inhabt.
 Apr. 17. John, son of Fredk. Jeke, Sergt.-Major.
 „ 17. Elizth., daughter of John Graham, Soldier.
 „ 17. Ann, daughter of Wm. Stanly, Do.
 „ 27. Saml. Robt., son of Saml. Weller, Capt. of a country ship and
 Rosa, his wife.
 „ 28. Jane, daughter of Alexr. Cameron, Sergt.

- May 6. John, son of Capt. John Jameson.
 .. 16. Robt., son of Alexr. Leslie, Pilot.
 .. 20. Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Mr. Simeon Droze, Sr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service.
- June 5. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Broad, Pilot.
 .. 10. Anna, daughter of Mr. Wm. Finney, Inhabt.
 .. 13. Anne, daughter of Mr. John Carmichael, writer, H. C.'s service.
 .. 16. Lucy, daughter of Saml. Day, Soldier.
 .. 30. Jane, daughter of Andrew Cameron, Soldier.
 .. 30. Thos., son of Thos. Harber, Soldier.
- July 10. Willm., son of Richd. Smith, Pilot.
 .. 20. Robt., son of Robt. Robertson, Inhabt., and Anne, his wife.
 .. 28. Mary, daughter of Wm. Wilkins, Sergt. and Mary, his wife.
- Aug. 22. David, son of Capt. David Moon.
 .. 25. David, son of David Mills, Soldier.
 .. 31. St. George, son of Capt. Benjamin Ashe, H. C.'s service and Mary, his wife. (74.)
 .. 31. Thos. Trognal, son of Capt. Thos. Dibdin and Elizth., his wife.
- Sep. 1. Mary, daughter of John Ruff, Soldier.
 .. 18. Chas., son of Mr. Richd. Dean, Ensign, H. C.'s service.
 .. 21. Chas. Edwd., son of Major Wm. Tolley and Mary, his wife.
 .. 22. Sarah, daughter of Joseph Ganert, Soldier.
 .. 26. Elizth., daughter of Mr. Saml. Greenaway and Mary, his wife.
 .. 29. David, son of James Miller, Pilot.
- Oct. 6. Patrick, son of Mr. Pat. Lindsay, Inhabt.
 .. 6. Zenazana, daughter of Moses Connor Taylor and Zenazanne, his wife.
 .. 6. Anne, daughter of Wm. Lane, Serjt.
 .. 18. Saml., son of Saml. Watson, Ensign, Hon. Co.'s service, and Eleanor, his wife. (75).
- Nov. 6. Maria, daughter of Capt. Horton Briscoe, Hon. Co.'s Mily. Service, and Millicent, his wife.
 .. 7. Anna Constantia, daughter of the late Mr. Hercules Durham, Inhabt. and (Blank), his wife. (76).
 .. 10. David, son of David Daniel, Serjt., and Elizth, his wife.
 .. 10. Elizth., daughter of John Whaiting, Serjt., and Hannah, Do.
 .. 11. Jane, daughter of Mr. Archibald Robertson and Mary, Do.
 .. 16. Henry Benjn. Briscoe, son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., his wife.
 .. 17. James, son of Jas. Higgs, Soldier.
 .. 24. Chas., son of Alexr. McCarty, Corpl.
 .. 24. Phillis, daughter of Jas. Bailie, Soldier.
 .. 25. Thos. Fitzmaurice, son of Robt. Chambers, Esq., one of the Judges of ye. Supreme Court, and Frances, his wife. (77).
 .. 25. Eliza, daughter of Mr. Charles Newman. (78).

- Nov. 28. Jane, daughter of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of ye. Supreme Court, and (Mary), his wife. (79).
 „ 30. Saml., son of Mr. John Bellie, Inhabt.
 Dec. 1. Sarah, daughter of John Ramsdell, Corpl.
 „ 8. Margt., daughter of Geo. Bruce, Serjt.
 „ 8. Margt., daughter of Wm. Morris, Soldier.
 „ 8. Ann, daughter of Joseph Bolton, Serjt.
 „ 15. Christian, daughter of Mr. Wm. Larkins, writer, Hon. Co.'s service and Mary, his wife. (80).
 „ 31. Stainforth Johnstone, son of Capt. Johnstone, Hon. Co.'s Mily. service.
 „ 31. Thos. and Jas., sons of Thos. Cobham, Esq.

1777.

- Jan. 7. Mary, daughter of Alexr. Lawson, Inhabt.
 „ 11. Maria Jane, daughter of Mr. Chas. Grant, Secy. to the Board of Trade, and (blank), his wife.
 „ 12. Edwd., son of Mr. Peter Moore, Factor in the Hon. Co.'s service, and Sarah, his wife. (81).
 „ 12. Anne, daughter of Fredk. Domson, Matross of Artillery.
 „ 13. Saml., son of Major Ahmuty, Hon. Co.'s service, and Ursula, his wife.
 „ 19. Sophia, daughter of Danl. Dauder, Soldier.
 „ 19. Jas., son of George Whitton, Serjt., and Mary, his wife.
 „ 19. Elizth., daughter of Josiah Saunders, Soldier.
 William Johnson, *Chaplain*.
 Feb. 7. Chas. Selwood, son of Wm. Marriott, Esq., Sr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service, and Jane, his wife.
 „ 9. Willm., son of Mr. Day Hort McDowal, Factor, Hon. Co.'s service. (82).
 „ 9. Anna Maria, daughter of Lieut. Richd. Long.
 „ 9. Henrietta Mary, daughter of Mr. Henry Halsey, Free Mariner.
 „ 9. Thos. Henry, son of Thos. Millard, Serjt.
 „ 18. Franklin Hancock, son of Mr. Mercer, Capt. of a country ship.
 Feb. 27. Mary, daughter of Mr. Gerard Gustavus Du Carcl, Jr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s service. (83).
 „ 28. Henrietta Amelia, daughter of Wm. Aldersey, Esq., President of the Board of Trade, and Henrietta, his wife. (84).
 Mar. 21. Edwd., son of Mr. Edwd. Hardwicke.
 „ 23. John, son of Lieut.-Col. John Cummings, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Mary, his wife.
 Apr. 6. Saml., son of John Brason, Serjt.
 „ 13. Mary, daughter of Aaron Spencer, Serjt., and Charlotte, his wife.

April 15. Elizth. Morse, daughter of Mr. John Carmichael, Factor, H. C.'s service.

William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

May 8. Elizth. Jane, daughter of the late Mr. Thos. Anderson, 2nd Surgn. of this Presdy., and Elizth. his wife. (85).

„ 11. Richd., son of Duncan Mackintosh, Soldier.

„ 11. John, son of Wm. Barr, Drummer.

„ 19. Margt., daughter of Mr. Wm. Jackson, Register of the Supreme Court of Judicature. (86).

„ 19. Kemp Hercules, son of Lieut. Harvey.

„ 19. Helen Margt. Jane, daughter of Mr. Stark, Surgn. (87).

„ 29. Robt., son of Mr. Alexr. Watson, Inhabt.

William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

June 1. Fredk. Chas., son of Chas. (blank) and Johanna, his wife.

„ 8. Jas., son of Jas. Hunt of ye. Arty.

„ 20. Harriett, daughter of Nathl. Bateman, Esq., Member, Board of Trade. (88).

„ 22. Elizth., daughter of Jacob Ward, Corpl. and Magdalene, his wife.

„ 30. John Nathl., son of Chas. Sealy, Esq., Advocate, and Mary, his wife. (89).

William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

July 13. Thos., son of Thos. Madox, Soldier.

„ 25. Mary Melicent Hastings, daughter of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., his wife.

„ 27. George, son of Lieut.-Col. Hampton and Margaret, his wife. (90).

William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

Sep. — Mary, daughter of Mr. John Bristow, H. C.'s service.

„ 17. James, son of Jas. Hosley, Soldier.

William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

Oct. 19. Ann, daughter of Henry Bagg. Do.

„ 23. John, son of Mr. John Shore, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service. (91).

„ 27. Letitia Elizth., daughter of Major Wm. Tolley, H. C.'s Mily. Service and Anna Maria, his wife.

William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

Nov. 9. Henry, son of Mr. Edwd. Parry, H. C.'s service and Emelia, his wife.

„ 22. Benjamin, son of Capt. Benjamin Wroe, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Elizth., his wife.

William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

Dec. 5. Sarah, daughter of Capt. Francis Forde, Master Attendant at Chittagong.

„ 28. May, daughter of Alexr. Robinson, Bombardier of Arty., and William Johnson, *Chaplain*.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

(1). *Hugh Baillie*: a pioneer commerce in the Assam Valley. He seems to have resided chiefly at Rangamati or Goalpara. Arrived in Calcutta in 1756 as Captain of a vessel and was allowed to remain in India. Alderman of the Mayor's Court, 1757: see a reference to him in Seton Kerr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, (Vol. I, p. 191). Married Anne Pearce on January 30, 1766.

(2). *Richard Becher*: a kinsman merely, according to Sir William Hunter, of Anne, daughter of John Harman Becher, who married Richmond Thackeray in Calcutta in 1810 and on July 18, 1811, became the mother of the novelist. Richard Becher had a remarkable career. He was Fourth of Council and Chief at Dacca during the "Troubles" of 1756. His first wife Charlotte and her infant daughter were made prisoners but through the good offices of Courtin the French Chief were released and permitted to join the forlorn colony at Fulta, where the child died on November 20, 1756. Mrs. Becher died at Calcutta on October 14, 1759, at the age of 21: and her tombstone may be seen in St. John's Churchyard embedded at the foot of the Charnock Mausoleum. In that year (1759) Becher was third in Council under Clive, and from September, 1767, to May, 1768, Zemindar of Calcutta. He died in Calcutta on November 17, 1782, at the age of 61: and it is recorded on his tombstone, which is "sacred to the memory of an honest man," (*Bengal Obituary*, p. 72) that he retired to England with a competence in 1774: but "in order to prop the declining credit of a friend, he was led to put all to the hazard" and was compelled to return to India in 1781. He was readmitted as a writer, but died in the following year in great poverty. It is worthy of note that after his return, no fewer than fifteen Bechers came to India in the course of fifty years.

(3). *John Taylor*: married Mrs. Dorothy Northall, widow, on June 24, 1762. Died March 15, 1767. Probably a surgeon.

(4). *Francis Sykes*: arrived July 9, 1751, at the age of nineteen: a member of the Factory at Cossimbazar under William Watts. Resigned the service in 1760 and took home with him Warren Hastings' infant son George (by his first wife). Returned with Lord Clive in 1765, as a member of the Select Committee. Created a Baronet in 1781. Sat in the House of Commons as member first for Shaftesbury and then during five Parliaments, for Wallingford. Died on January 11, 1784. The son here mentioned succeeded as second Baronet. Mrs. Catherine Sykes (married on February 7, 1766), died in Calcutta on December 25, 1768, and is buried in South Park Street Cemetery. Her maiden name was Ridley.

(5). *John Cummings*: afterwards Sir John Cummings (Colonel, June 10, 1779). Appointed to command all the troops in the service of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, 1781. Died at St. Helena, August 26, 1786. Married Miss Mary Wedderburn on January 22, 1770. Her brother Ensign Charles Wedderburn perished in the Black Hole.

(6). *John Knott*: Mr. N. N. Ghose, in his "Memoir of Maharajah Nubkissen Bahadur" (pp. 26—29) prints a letter written from London on March 29, 1774, by Knott to "Mr. Nubkissen." It contains news of a visit to Italy by Clive: and mentions the approaching departure for Bengal of "Robert Chambers, Esq., a gentleman of respectable character and distinguished abilities" who is recommended to Nubkissen as "having a desire to learn both the Persian and Bengalee languages on his arrival in Bengal." Knott says in the letter: "I was married about the same time as Mr. Verelst was, to a sister of my cousin, Captain George Knott's, whom you may remember in Bengal. I have but one child, my wife being of tender and weakly constitution:" and adds: "I should be very happy in England, was not my little fortune exposed to so heavy a risk in Bengal by the share I hold in the joint concern in trade there under the direction of the late Mr. Hoissard. Though you were so kind as to buy that share of me, so far as related to my portions of any profits that might arise on the joint concern, yet I am still responsible for the principal amount of my share of that original stock." Mr. Daniel Hoissard, Free Merchant, died in Calcutta on October 29, 1770.

(7). *Arthur Achmuty*: Cadet, 1760: Lieutenant, August 26, 1763: Captain, December 20, 1764: Major, September 3, 1768: Lieut.-Colonel, September 13, 1779: Colonel, May 28, 1786. Died at Dinapore, December 6, 1793. Married at Calcutta, July 25, 1767, to Miss Ursula DeCruz.

(8). *George Vansittart*: of the Company's service: afterwards of Bisham Abbey, Berks, and M.P. Brother of Henry Vansittart (1732—1770), Governor of Fort William, who was lost in the *Aurora* in 1769 with Luke Scrafton and Colonel Francis Forde, and whose younger son Nicholas (born in 1768), was created Baron Bexley. Married at Calcutta on October 24, 1776, to Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Sir John Stonhouse, third Bart. of Radley, and Penelope Dashwood. George Henry, the son here baptized, became a General and died in 1824. For other sons, see notes (18), (45), (69). Lucia Stonhouse, the sister of Sarah Vansittart, married on June 12, 1770 Robert Falk, "Judge of the Court of Cutcherry," who committed Nuncomar for forgery. Sir John Brooke Stonhouse, ninth Bart. (baptized at Calcutta in 1796 and died in 1848) was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1814 to 1827 (Collector of Rajshahye, 1826): and Sir Timothy Vansittart Stonhouse, tenth baronet, was Accountant-General at Fort Saint George and provisional member of Council, and died in 1866. They were the sons of James Stonhouse, also H. F. I. C. S. (b. 1759, d. 1803) who was the stepbrother of Sarah Vansittart and Lucia Falk. The eldest brother, Neale Stonhouse (b. 1743, d. 1773) was also a writer on the Madras establishment and paymaster at Vellore.

(9). *Sarah Pearson*: (the mother of the infant baptised) died in Calcutta, September 9, 1768, aged 19. Hers is the oldest existing monument in the South Park Street Cemetery. Thomas Pearson died on August 5, 1781, aged 4., and is buried near by. They were married at St. John's Church on December 2, 1767, her maiden name being Irwin. James Irwin was a senior

merchant in the Company's Service, who married Selina Brooke on April 22, 1777.

(10). *William Weston*: the child died on December 19, 1768. The father Charles Weston was born in Calcutta, 1731, and died there on December 25, 1809. He carried arms as a militiaman in 1756: and befriended Holwell in his old age. Served as a juror at the trial of Nuncoomar in June, 1775 and lived to see the Governor-Generalship of the first Lord Minto. Won the Tiretta Bazar in the lottery of 1796. A portrait of him is preserved in the vestry-room at St. John's Church. Married Amelia de Rozario on November 9, 1785. This was his first wife. Constantia his second, is buried at Bandel.

(11). *John Sykes*: afterwards R. N. Died on board the *Grampus*, January 14, 1786. His mother Catherine Sykes died on December 30, 1768. (See note (4).)

(12). *Page Keble*: Master attendant, 1765: See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V, pp. 329, 330 and 332, for baptisms of three elder children, Charles (1764), Mary (1765) and Page (1766). On the occasion of the invasion of Grand's house by Francis, "Mr. Keble called from the verandah of his house adjoining to know what was the cause of the disturbance." Married again on July 3, 1782, his second wife being Elizabeth Metham.

(13). *John Fortnom*: Civil Architect, 1765. Major and Director of the Works, 1772 (see Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 160—1, 172). Married Jane Yates on September 3, 1767. In Orig. Cons. of May 21, 1781, Warren Hastings recommends the appointment of "Masters John and Thomas Fortnom, sons of the late Col. Fortnom as minor cadets." For Master John see entry of February 13, 1770, and for Master Thomas (William) see entry of October 11, 1772.

(14). *John Wedderburn Miller*: the child died on July 26, 1769.

(15). *Lionel Darell*: created a Baronet in 1795. M. P. for Lyme Regis, 1780—84 and for Hendon, 1784—1802. Director of the East India Company from 1780 to 1803. Died in 1803. Married July 20, 1766, Isabella, daughter of Timothy Tullie (Director, 1750—1763). *Harry Verelst Darell*, 2nd Baronet, was appointed a writer on the Bengal establishment in 1790 and was Commercial Resident at (Rampur) Bauleah in 1816. Married 1809 Amelia Mary Ann, daughter of William Becher: and died, 1828. Another Darell, Henry John, was appointed a writer in 1794, and died in Calcutta on July 7, 1803.

(16). *Thomas Rumbold*: (1736—1791), afterwards Baronet and Governor of Fort Saint George. (1778—1780): Second in Council at Fort William, 1766—69. (See account of his career in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 189—192).

(17). *Capt. William Tolly*: maker of Tolly's Nullah and founder of Tollygunge. In 1778 he leased Gopalnagore and Zeerut with Belvedere House from Hastings, and in 1780 purchased Belvedere. It was to his house that Francis was taken after the duel. He became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1784 and resigned the Service in 1784. Married on April 11, 1768, in Calcutta

to (Anna) Maria Hintz. He died in 1784 at St. Helena on his way to England. It would seem from Orig. Cons. 24 November, 1783, No. 23 and 24 and O. C. 6 Jan. 1734. No. 1 that he ended his career in a hopeless state of debt to the Company.

(18). *Edward Vansittart*: see note (8).

(19). *Horton Briscoe*: was twice married: (1) to Maria Howett on February 9, 1769: and (2) to Millicent Jane Banks on July 28, 1774. Ensign, August 25, 1763: Lieutenant, April 15, 1764: Captain, July 28, 1766: Major, February 25, 1778: Lieutenant Colonel, December 4, 1781: Colonel, June 19, 1791: Major-General, December 20, 1793. Died at Calcutta, December 25, 1802. The child Anna Bella died on December 15, 1769.

(20). *Elizabeth Nixon*: died, March 22, 1770. Ann Nixon, the mother died on July 22, 1772. Joshua Nixon married Ann Bine on March 5, 1769.

(21). *Nicholas Grueber*: Zemindar of Calcutta, 1767. Chief of Cossimbazar and of Dacca, 1772. Buxey, 1774: Member of the Board of Trade, 1783.

(22). *Blastus Godley Wright*: appointed Sheriff of Calcutta on December 5, 1776, but "departed for England the same month."

(23). *Mary Johnson*: the child died on July 20, 1770.

(24). *Philip Leale* (*Leal*): married a daughter of Charles Weston. The child died on December 13, 1770.

(25). *George Rook*: married Mrs. Phillis Case, widow, on November 25, 1769. Ensign, November 13, 1762: Lieutenant, May 28, 1767: Captain, June 26, 1771: resigned, June 17, 1774.

(26). *Major Christian Fischer*: Capt. Christian Fischer married Elizabeth Devril on April 19, 1761. A Swiss officer in the Company's service, who with Clive and Le Beaume formed the minority which voted before Plassey for immediate action. Took part in Colonel Francis Forde's expedition to the Northern Circars in 1759, and on December 28, captured Coconada from the French. On March 23, 1760, he joined Meer Jaffer's forces at Burdwan in the movement against Shah Alam. When the Army was reorganized in 1765 he commanded the 2nd battalion of Native Infantry stationed at Monghyr. Lieut.-Colonel 1781. Commanded at the Motee Jheel (Moorshedabad). In the Original Consultations of December, 1770, a letter may be found from him requesting a passage to Europe in the *Houghton* (499 tons, Capt. William Smith) for his daughter and nurse. (The *Houghton* arrived in the Downs, July 9, 1771).

(28). *John Graham*: came out in 1759 on the *Calcutta*. Married Miss Mary Shewin on August 8, 1762. Secretary to the Council. Resident at Midnapore, 1765. Superintendent of the Khalsa, August, 1773. Chief at Patna, January, 1772. President of the Board of Customs, 1773. Concerned in the trial of Nuncomar for conspiracy.

(29). *Moses Underwood*: died on June 29, 1771.

(30). *Charles Floyer*: one of the "4 gentlemen from Madras" brought up by Clive in 1767, during his second Governorship of Bengal, to fill vacancies on the Council at Fort William. He arrived on the Coromandel Coast on

June 9, 1755 : was Resident at Tranquebar in 1761, and Junior Merchant and Paymaster at Trichinopoly in 1764. On transfer to Bengal he became Tenth in Council and Military Storekeeper and was appointed Mintmaster and Secretary to the Select Committee in 1769 and Buxey in 1770. While in Bengal married Catherine Carvalho of Chandernagore, sister of Jean Law of Lauriston, Governor of Pondicherry. In 1771, he reverted to Fort St. George as Senior Merchant, and in 1776 was one of the members of the Governor's Council who kidnapped and imprisoned Lord Pigot. He was recalled by order of the General Court of Proprietors dated May 9, 1777, and suspended. In 1779 he was tried before the Court of King's Bench and fined £1,000. He seems then to have been permitted to return to the Coromandel Coast, for in 1782 he was appointed Chief of the Gunttoor Circars. There is no further trace of his official career after that year. He was shot in a duel by Benjamin Roebuck, (writer on the Madras establishment, who died at Vizagapatam on August 13, 1809).

(31). *Henry Revell* : afterwards Collector of Customs at Chapra : opened a Custom House and bazar at Godna in 1788 : and gave his name to Revelgunge, situated seven miles west of Chapra. He is buried in the town.

(32). *William Lushington* : Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief, 1764. Supravisor of Hooghly, 1771. Resigned, October 31, 1773, and entered Parliament. Son of the Vicar of Eastbourne and brother of Henry Lushington who survived the Black Hole and was killed in the Patna Massacre (1763). Married Pauline French on March 28, 1769. Another brother, Stephen, was a Director of the East India Company from 1782 to 1802 (Chairman, 1790, 1795, 1799) and was created a baronet in 1791. The Manor House at Eastbourne, which was the birth place of these Lushingtons, has this year (1923) been acquired by the Corporation of the town and converted into a picture-gallery. There is a monument to Henry Lushington in the old Parish Church. Eight other Lushingtons served in Bengal, and four in Madras (including Stephen Rumbold Lushington, Governor of Fort Saint George from 1827 to 1832).

(33). *John Bathoe* : married Mrs. Elizabeth Lindsay, widow, on April 3, 1771. Was Resident at Malda in December, 1770, and was appointed Export Warehouse Keeper at Calcutta on March 1, 1771. Third at Dacca, February, 1772.

(34). *Simeon Droz* : gave evidence in the Grand-Francis suit. Secretary to the Council at Fort William, 1767. Sheriff of Calcutta, 1768. Appointed Fourth in Council at Patna, February, 1772. Married (1) Frances Boulet on September 2, 1767, and (2) Mary Ashe on March 1, 1777. The child Louisa Ann died on May 12, 1773.

(35). *William Barton* : clerk to the Committee of Accounts, 1763 : resigned office of Aderman of the Mayor's Court, 1760. Subsequently Resident at Luckypore and Collector of Tippera, Resident at Burdwan and President of the Board of Trade. Dismissed the service in 1786 and fled to Serampore and thence to Copenhagen, where he purchased a Danish title of nobility, and died (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III. p. 309). Married Harriot Higgins on July 17, 1788.

(36). *Catherine Pawson*: no doubt the "Kitty Pawson" of Hicky's Gazette. See Busteed's Echoes, p. 186. William Pawson was appointed a writer in 1765, the same year as "Sylhet" Thackeray. He was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1788.

(37). *Major William Hessman*: married Elizabeth Mills on September 15, 1768. In a letter dated November 7, 1779, "Camp at Dalmow," Brigadier General Giles Stibbert reports that Major William Hessman has been killed in a duel by Colonel Gilbert Ironside (described by Grand in his Narrative as the "Celebrated Martinet").

(38). *Lieut.-Col. Campbell*: Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B. (Governor of Fort Saint George from 1785 to 1793) was about this time Chief Engineer in Bengal—"a situation of prodigious emolument," according to William Hickey, (Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 157). As to his association with Colonel Henry Watson, see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 154. He died in England in 1791 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

(39). *Francis Gladwin*: married (at Burdwan by Simon Droz) to Ann Proctor on December 5, 1769. Collector of Calcutta from November, 1788, to May, 1789, and again from 1793 to 1799. First Professor of Persian at the College of Fort William, 1801. Died about 1813.

(40). *Peter Touchet*: brother of Mrs. Motte ("Bibby" Motte). Joined with Hastings and other Old Westminsters in presenting a silver cup to Westminster School in 1777. Resident at Radhanagore.

(41). *James Harris*.—Chief of Dacca in 1771. His first wife Catherine, died in Calcutta on August 29, 1769: and on January 31, 1771, he married Henrietta, sister of "Sylhet" Thackeray (who was appointed Fourth at Dacca on August 25 of that year). Their daughter Henrietta married Sir Stephen Gaselee, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in England. Harris left India shortly after the baptism of Quarles.

(42). *William Bondfield or Bonfield*: *Auctioneer*: after whom Bonfields Lane is named. One of the Jurors who tried the indictment against J. A. Hicky for a libel on Hastings contained in the *Bengal Gazette* (No. IX, March 24, 1781). A verdict of not guilty was returned on June 27, 1781.

(43). *Charles Croftes*.—"Idle Charley" of Hicky's Gazette. Was one of Hastings' Indian Trustees, Thomas Motte being the other. Associated with Hastings in forming the experimental English farm at Sooksagur and contracted for rum for the navy, in 1784. Was engaged in the manufacture of muslins and became bankrupt in 1785. Was given the post of Chief of Chittagong where Sir William and Lady Jones stayed with him, and where he died in 1786, at the age of 42.

(44). *Mr. Kettle*.—No doubt "Tilly Kettle, Limmer." See entry of April 30, 1774 for baptism of another child. Son of a house-painter. Came out to India about 1770: See the following letter written by John Cartics, Governor of Fort William, to Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah of Oudh on November 3, 1771. (Persian correspondence Vol. III. 1770—72: No. 973): "Having learnt that the addressee wishes very much to see Mr. Kettle, a painter, the writer has ordered

him to proceed to Fyabad. Says that he is a master of his art and hopes the addressee will be much pleased with him." A similar letter was sent to Munir-ud-daulah; Naib Wazir, at Allahabad. Kettle returned to London about the year 1777 and exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1777 to 1784. He died at Aleppo in the spring of 1798, when on his return to the East. He left a widow with a son and daughter in England. His portraits of Warren Hastings and Impey are well-known.

(45). *Arthur Hastings Vansittart*.—Afterwards of the Bengal Civil Service : writer 1790 : died at Calcutta on February 19, 1807, aged 33 years, and buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. See *ante* note (8).

(46). *Archibald Robertson*.—The child died on June 21, 1773.

(47). *Charles Sealy*.—See post, note (55), on Mary Ursula Sealy. The child Amy Mary died June 21, 1773.

(48). *Robert Patton*.—was A. D. C. to Warren Hastings. Ensign, July 22, 1766 : Lieutenant, June 18, 1767 : Captain, July 4, 1771. Resigned March 2, 1773.

(49). *William Hosca*.—A nephew of Robert Orme, the historian. Collector of Hooghly 1772—73. Subsequently second of Council at Moorshedabad. A friend of Sir Robert and Lady Chambers. Married Mary Browne at Calcutta on September 17, 1772. He and his wife and child, and Thomas Fitzmaurice, the infant son of Chambers (see entry of September 25, 1776) went to Europe in the *Grosvenor* (729 tons, Captain John Coxon) which was wrecked on the African coast on August 4, 1782. The survivors perished in their attempt to reach the Dutch settlement at the Cape.

(50). *John Thornhill*.—appointed writer on Bengal Establishment 1790. Collector of 24-Pergunnahs, 1797 : Secretary to Government in Military Department, 1808. Postmaster-General, 1810. Resigned in India, February 7, 1812. Director of the East India Company from 1816 to 1840. Died February, 1841. His father *Cudbert Thornhill*, was nominated Master Attendant, in 1785 and held the post until April, 1808. During the "Troubles" of 1756 he was resident in Calcutta and escaped to Fulta. He died in Calcutta on September 21, 1809, aged 86, and is buried in the North Park Street Cemetery. The full names of his wife were Maria Ursula Thornhill. She died on May 19, 1793.

(51). *William Cotes or Coates*.—married Diana Rochfort, on January 19, 1774. Three children of the marriage were baptized at St. John's Church, Henrietta Amelia and William (on January 20, 1776) and Diana (on January 2, 1778). Was at one time Chief of Chittagong. His widow married Sir John Hadley D'Oyly on March 16, 1779. (See references in article on the *Farington Diary*, *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 21—26).

(52). *William Bruere*.—Secretary to the Supreme Council, 1779.

(53). *John Carmichael*.—Judge Advocate-General, 1772. Paymaster of the Garrison, 1773. Married January 22, 1779 to Miss Mathilda Bie, daughter of O. Bie, subsequently (1789—1805) Danish Governor of Serampore. See entries of June 13, 1776, and April 15, 1777.

(54). *Lieut.-Col. John Lillyman*.—Chief Engineer: Architect of the present Fort William: Died at Calcutta on December 23, 1774, aged 42 years.

(55). *Marry Ursula Sealy*: married on September 15, 1794 at St. John's Church to Thomas Baring B. C. S. (Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs, 1796) son of Sir Francis Baring Bart. (Director of the East India Company, 1779 to 1810). He retired in 1798 and succeeded as 2nd Baronet in 1810. Their eldest son, the first Baron Northbrook, was born and baptized in Calcutta: and was the father of the Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy and Governor-General of India from 1872 to 1876.

(56). *John Bristow*.—Died at Calcutta October 20, 1802, aged 52 years. His wife, (whom he married at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782) was the beautiful Emma Wrangham (Busteed, *Echoes*, p. 211). He was recalled in 1776 from Mrs. Hastings who was an "old and intimate" friend of her mother and Clavering who had carried his appointment in 1774 by a majority vote. In October 1782, however, Hastings sent him back to Lucknow: but he was finally recalled by a decision of December 31, 1783.

(57). *Anna Maria Dare*.—Died September 13, 1774. God-daughter of Mrs. Hastings who was an "old and intimate" friend of her mother and born in the same year (1747). Dare and his wife were shipwrecked off the Coromandel Coast shortly afterwards. He was drowned, and she married Captain Samuel Showers at Calcutta on November 13, 1779. (See note (61) post). Mrs. Melian Dare's letters (and the peculiar Christian name) suggest that she was a foreigner. Mrs. Hastings arranged the match between her and Captain Showers. The union was unhappy, and the husband and wife separated, after three sons had been born of the marriage. Col. Showers had a pension but refused his wife any share of it, as she had left him of her own accord. She lived on what her sons were able to send her until one of them, Lieut. Charles Lionel Showers, an officer of great promise, was killed on April 15, 1815, during the Nepal war in the assault on the fortified stronghold of Malaun (see monument in St. John's Church). Hastings sent her money for her immediate necessities and wrote to Sweny Toone, his former aide-de-camp (Director of the Company from 1800 to 1830) to put the case before the Hon'ble Court: which he did, and a grant of £70 a year was made to her, to date from the day of her son's death. (S. C. Grier, *Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife*).

(58). *Richard Ahmuty*: query: writer on the Bengal establishment, 1791: Commissioner of Behar, 1797: Collector of Allahabad, 1803: Judge and Magistrate of Furruckabad, 1804. Proceeded to Europe, 1806, and resigned in England, March 30, 1808.

(59). *Thomas Pattle*.—Writer 1765 (the same year as "Sylhet" Thackaray); married Sarah Hasleby at Cossimbazar on June 10, 1770. In 1774 he was recommended by Hastings for Council at Dacca. The most famous member of the family was James Pattle who came out as a writer in 1790 and died in Calcutta on September 4, 1845, at the age of 69 after serving for nearly 55 years. There is a monument to him and his wife Adeline

(daughter of Chevalier de L'etang) in St. John's Church. (See Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, pp. 509—510).

(60). *Samuel Middleton*.—Arrived in Bengal, July 25, 1753. In 1756 made his escape from Jugdea to Fulta. Was one of the deputation sent to Moorshedabad in February, 1765 for the installation of Nawab Nazim Nujjum-ud-Dowlah and got into trouble for accepting a present. He appears as Chief of Patna in a list dated October 28, 1765. Resident at Moorshedabad and Chief of Cossimbazar, 1772. His portrait was painted by Tilly Kettle for the Freemasons of Bengal. Died at Pirpainti (N. E. of Bhagalpur) in 1775. Owned considerable property in Calcutta. Middleton Street and Middleton Row are named after him. Acted for a time as Police Magistrate at the Presidency.

(61). *Samuel How Showers*.—Married (1) Ann Hammond on January 15 1772: and (2) Mrs. Melian Dare, widow, on November 13, 1779. Ensign, December 27, 1764: Lieutenant, December 4, 1766: Captain, April 14, 1769: Major, January 5, 1781: Lieutenant-Colonel, May 28, 1786. Dismissed by order of Court-Martial, 1793. The first Mrs. Showers died at Patna in 1778.

(62). *John Hannay*.—See article on "Alexander and John Hannay" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 162—166.

(63). *Charles Short*.—Died at Russapugla in Calcutta on July 2, 1785, after twenty years' residence in India. A leading merchant. Was the owner of Short's Bazar in Lower Circular Road, and gave his name to Short Street.

(64). *Sir Robert Chambers*.—Vinerian Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, 1762—77, and Principal of New Inn Hall: appointed second judge on the constitution of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1774. Married on March 8, 1774, before coming out to Calcutta, Frances Wilton, the daughter of Joseph Wilton, R.A., a fashionable sculptor. She was then in her sixteenth year: "exquisitely beautiful," according to Dr. Johnson, while Mrs. Thrale has it that she stood for Hebe at the Royal Academy. Chambers brought out with him his wife, his mother (a Miss Metcalfe who died in Calcutta on February 7, 1782, aged 69) and his brother William who was a specialist in oriental languages and was appointed Interpreter to the Court. His Oxford professorship was specially continued to him for three years, in order to see how the climate of Bengal suited him, and John Scott (later Lord Eldon) acted as deputy. However, he stayed twenty-five years. Knighted in 1778 and became Chief Justice in 1791: retired in 1799 and died in Paris on May 9, 1803. A friend of Dr. Johnson in London and of Sir Philip Francis in Calcutta. (Francis was god-father to his son Robert Joseph: baptised at St. John's Church on July 18, 1779). Chambers lost two of his children in Calcutta: Henrietta (baptised at St. John's Church on June 22, 1778 and died July 30, 1779) and Edward Colin (baptised at St. John's Church on June 7, 1781 and died November 9, 1781). Another child Thomas Fitzmaurice (see note (77): entry of November 25, 1776) was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, August 4, 1782. Lady Chambers survived him and died at Brighton in 1839. His nephew, Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, was appointed to be one of the

Judges of the newly-formed Supreme Court at Bombay on May 8, 1824: and embarked on a prolonged struggle with the Executive which lasted until his death on October 13, 1828.

(65). *Mathew Wilmot*, painter.—Can any member supply information with regard to this painter?

(66). *Charles Grant*: first went out to India in 1767, and supervised the private trade of Richard Becher, who was then Resident at Moorshedabad: returned to England 1771-72 and obtained a writership on the Bengal Establishment 1772-73: Secretary to the Board of Trade: appointed Commercial Resident at Malda in 1781, in charge of the silk filature: fourth member of the Board of Trade, 1787: retired 1790. Lived when in Calcutta in Grant's Lane (so named after him) in the first house on the right hand from Bentinck Street: and subsequently in Edward Wheler's house at Kidderpore. He and William Chambers (Prothonotary of the Supreme Court and brother of Sir Robert) married two sisters, Jane and Charity Fraser. Paid £10,000 to save the Old Mission Church from attachment by the Sheriff, and established a Board of Church Trustees. Director of the East India Company from 1797 to 1823: Deputy Chairman, 1804, 1807, 1808: Chairman, 1805, 1809, 1815. M.P. for Inverness-shire from 1802. Died in London, November 1823. His elder son, the Right Hon. Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg) was President of the Board of Control from November 1830 to December 1834. The younger son, Sir Robert Grant, G.C.H. was Governor of Bombay from March 1835 to July 9, 1838, when he died at Dapuri near Poona.

(67). *John Belli*.—Secretary to Hastings who mentions him in one of his letters with Richard Summer, Alexander Elliot, George Bogle, and Sir John D'Oyly, as having suffered for their loyalty to him. Charge XV of the impeachment against Hastings was as follows: "That he appointed his Private Secretary, John Belli, Esquire, to be agent for the supply of stores and provisions for the garrison of Fort William in Bengal, with a commission of 30 per cent." Belli's name appears on the Granary in Fort William, now used as a Military Works Store and erected in 1782.

(68). *Jonathan King Cooper*.—There happens to be a King Cooper's Lane in Calcutta.

(69). *Frederick Vansittart*.—Writer on Bengal Establishment, 1793: Collector of Purnea, 1803: Paymaster-General, 1812: Resigned in India, December 17, 1813, and died at St. Helena on March 24, 1814. See note (8).

(70). *Hastings Dare*.—Godson on Warren Hastings: See note (57). Subsequently in command of a Battalion in India (Grier).

(71). *Henry Grant*.—A Free Merchant: married on March 29, 1770, Alicia Camac a sister of Major Jacob Camac. They acted in England as joint guardians, with Hastings, of the younger John Hadley D'Oyly.

(72). *Peter Moore*.—Married at Patna on January 10, 1774, Sarah, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond Webb. Her sister Amelia married "Sylhet" Thackeray. Was Fifth Member of the Revenue Committee appointed by Warren Hastings. Retired and settled at Hadley. Acted as guardian

of his great-nephew the novelist went into Parliament. A strong friend and supporter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

(73). *Henry Wedderburn*.—Many years Master Attendant: married Alice Tetly at Calcutta on March 4, 1773. Died at Calcutta on November 17, 1777, aged 46 years. His tombstone in the South Park Street Cemetery (Ben. Obit. p. 70) records that he "served the Hon. E. I. Coy. in the troubles with Surajah-ud-Dowlah and Cossim Ally Cawn." His daughter Mary married Lieutenant-Colonel John Cummings on January 22, 1770: see note (5). Mrs. Wedderburn died in 1805, aged 55.

(74). *St. George Ashe*.—Grandfather of Major-General St. George D. Showers, subsequently in command of the Presidency Division of the Bengal Army. Ashe's daughter Harriet married (1) Captain John Lumsdaine and (2) July 27, 1806 at Etawah, Captain D. Showers.

(75). *Eleanor Watson*.—Mrs. Watson died on October 19, 1776, aged 25 years: and the child Samuel on October 25, 1776.

(76). *Hercules Durham*.—Advocate. Represented the Crown in the trial of Nuncoomar: Formerly in the Company's Army.

(77). *Thomas Fitzmaurice Chambers*.—This boy perished in the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, August 4, 1782. The parents erected a tombstone to his memory in South Park Street Cemetery. Cf. note (64).

(78). *Charles Newman*.—Also lost in the wreck of the "*Grosvenor*" on the African coast, August 4, 1782. Advocate of the Supreme Court. Appeared for Grand in his case against Francis. Was sent in 1781 to Madras in accordance with instructions from the Court of Directors, to collect evidence against Sir Thomas Rumbold.

(79). *Jane Impey*.—Sir Elijah Impey married in 1768 Mary, daughter of Sir John Reade of Shipton Court, Oxfordshire. He retired from India in 1783, after nine years' service as Chief Justice and was M.P. for New Romney from 1790 to 1796. Died in 1809.

(80). *William Larkins*.—Name father of Larkins Lane in Calcutta: married Mary Harris on February 7, 1776. In March of that year Mackrabie records in his Diary: "Mrs. Larkins, a bride: her husband is a young Company's servant, under age, but looks forty, William Larkins." "The faithful Larkins" of Warren Hastings: left India in 1793, and died in 1800. He was at one time the owner of the famous picture of Warren Hastings by A. W. Devis, which bears the legend *mens aequa in arduis* and of which a copy hangs in the Council Chamber at the Calcutta Town Hall. Larkins' son Warren Hastings "who was very fond of calling himself Hastings Bahadur" and "often points up to your picture saying Jeetee Ro" died on August 20, 1788 in Calcutta: aged 4 years. On leaving India, Larkins left the picture with Charles Chapman: and in 1796 he offered it to the Government of India: "The picture which I got from Larkins," writes Chapman in that year, "now fronts that of the Marquis (Cornwallis) in the Government House." Larkins succeeded Charles Croftes as Accountant-General: and having had charge of the moneys received by Hastings for the Company—

such as gifts from Indian Princes—he was called as a witness at the trial to give evidence. His son, *John Pascal Larkins* (Writer, 1796) became senior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium and President of the Marine Board in 1823: and retired on annuity in 1827. His name appears as owner of many ships in Hardy's Register: e.g., *Walmer Castle* (1,200 tons), 1802; *Earl St. Vincent* (818 tons), 1802; *Earl Camden* (1,200 tons), 1803 and *Warren Hastings* (1,200 tons), 1803; Captain Thomas Larkins in command.

(81). *Edward Moore*.—Writer, 1796. Assistant to the Persian and Bengali Translator to the Board of Revenue, 1801. Died June 30, 1801.

(82). *Day Hort McDowall*.—Writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1770: Collector of Rungpore "with the addition of Goragaut," 1786: retired from the Service, 1789.

(83). *George Gustavas Ducarel*.—Supervisor, Purneah, 1770: succeeded Alexander Elliot as Superintendent of the Khalsa Records in 1778. Played a prominent part with Sir George Shee in the Francis Escapade at Grand's house (see Grand's Narrative, p. 85) and gave evidence at the trial. Dr. Busteed quotes an amusing reference to him in a letter written by Francis in 1784 from Paris, which indicates that he was short of stature: "Ducarel has found his uncle and aunt, or rather they have found him. He was forced to get on a chair to put his arms round his uncle's neck: and he has worn my blue box to rags to keep his feet from dangling in the chaise."

(84). *William Aldersey*.—Brought up from Madras by Clive in 1767, with Charles Floyer, Thomas Kelsall and Claud Russell, to fill vacancies on the Council at Fort William. Arrived on the Coromandel Coast, June 8, 1759. Factor and Secretary in the Secret Department, and Translator, 1761: Junior Merchant, Secretary, Solicitor and Clerk of Appeals, 1766: transferred to Bengal as Sixth Member of Council and Import Warehouse Keeper and Buxey, 1767. Chief at Cossimbazar, 1771: Second in Council at Fort William during the first administration of Warren Hastings and acted as Governor during his absence from the Presidency in September, 1773. President of the Board of Trade, 1778, and succeeded in 1779 by Philip Milner Dacres (name-father of Dacres Lane in Calcutta). Married on February 28, 1775, when "Member of the Council of Commerce," to Henrietta Yorke in Calcutta.

(85). *Thomas Anderson*.—Married Elizabeth Dixon on August 5, 1774, was appointed Surgeon-General on November 11, 1769, and died at Bombay in March, 1777.

(86). *William Jackson*.—Attorney. Married Margaret Stewart on November 17, 1776.

(87). *James Stark*.—Appointed Assistant Surgeon, September 8, 1773: Surgeon, September 8, 1778. Resigned January 16, 1789, but remained in India. Struck off, 1793. Catherine Stark married Captain Charles Russell Deare of the Artillery on June 5, 1779.

(88). *Nathaniel Bateman*.—Appointed Chief of Chittagong, February 3, 1775; Member, Board of Trade, August 31, 1775. "In March 1794, the Chevalier D'Eon requested from Warren Hastings a letter of introduction to Mr.

Peter Speke of the Supreme Council at Fort William, for the Batemans who were going out to India to claim some property. Mrs. Bateman was at one time an actress of repute and drew large audiences to the old Haymarket Theatre. I understand that Bateman died in India and that his widow married a Mr. Ester and died in Calcutta in 1801. Was this the Nathaniel Bateman who was a Company's servant in the time of Warren Hastings?" (E.M.D. in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V., p. 161).

There is a reference to Bateman in the "Memoirs of William Hickey" (Vol. II. p. 375):—"On the 17th [February, 1782] Mr. Nathaniel Bateman, a member of the Board of Trade in Bengal, arrived [at Lisbon]. His object in visiting Portugal was, like mine, to obtain a passage from thence to the East. Having had a slight acquaintance with him in Calcutta in the year 1778, we now renewed it." They travelled out together to Bengal and ended an adventurous voyage by quarrelling violently.

(89). *John Nathaniel Scaly*.—Writer, 1797. Commercial Resident at Serampore, 1812: Deputy Military Paymaster-General, 1813: died November 1, 1815.

(90). *Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Hampton*.—Married Sarah Hick on September 1, 1765. Raised the 4th Regiment, N. I.

(91). *John Shore*.—Sir John Shore. Bart. (1792). Afterwards Lord Teignmouth (1798): Governor-General of India, 1793—1798. Married Miss Charlotte Cornish, February 14, 1786. Died February 14, 1834.

Sir Charles Napier at Barrackpore.

[The following note by Miss Hilda C. Gregg ("Sydney C. Grier") was published in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIII at p. 195. It is here reprinted, with additional comments kindly supplied from the same source.]

THE photograph, which is reproduced on the opposite page, is from a drawing in my possession. I picked it up in a curiosity shop and an adaptation of it is being used as the frontispiece of my new book. "The Flag of the Adventurer." It was sold to me as a pencil drawing, but when it was cleaned, it turned out to be a reproduction of some sort. The small letters under the title—quite illegible in the photograph—are "T. Black, Asiatic Litho Press, Calcutta."

It would be interesting to know whether tradition, or the papers of the time, preserve any recollection of this particular review. The splashing water, and the expression on the faces of the reviewees, suggest that Sir Charles Napier had refused to alter his arrangements on account of bad weather. He arrived at Calcutta on May 6, 1849, and left it on the 22nd to meet Lord Dalhousie at Simla, which narrows down the time to little over a fortnight. Whoever drew the original of the lithograph must have had a knack of catching likenesses and a keen sense of humour. It is possible that one of Lord Dalhousie is extant from the same hand, and, if so, I should much like to have it.

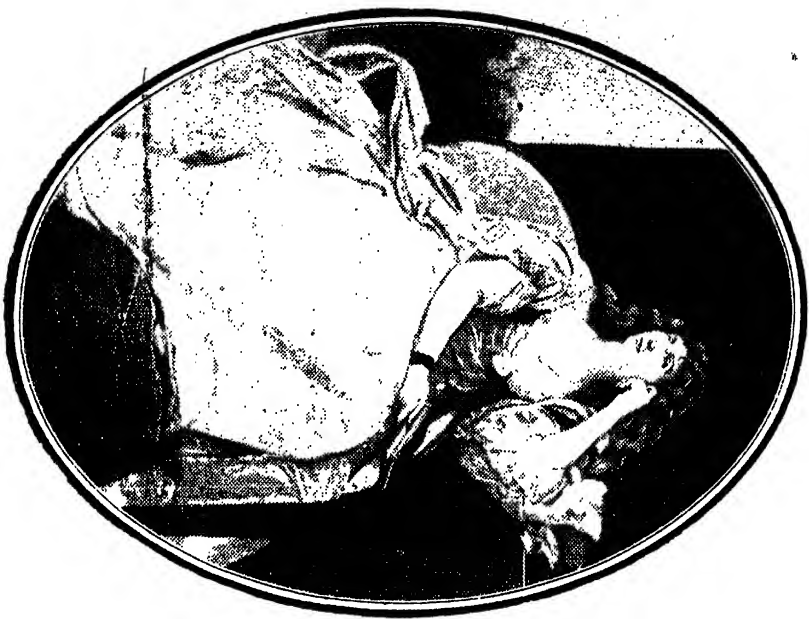
Since forwarding for publication in *Bengal Past and Present*, the photograph of "Sir Charles Napier Reviewing the Brigade at Barrackpore, May, 1849" from the lithograph in my possession, I have come across some particulars of the review. A reference in *Hobson-Jobson* led me to Mawson's "Indian Command of Sir Charles Napier," of which the British Museum boasts a dilapidated copy, tied together with string. In the main a collection of General Orders, the book contains an appendix with interesting accounts from contemporary sources of Sir Charles's public appearance. Unfortunately I made merely casual notes—from the *Bengal Harkaru* account, I believe.

Sir Charles wore Blucher boots and "the solah hat"—elsewhere described as "the jockey cap" and "that funny-looking hat—as bad as Daniel Wilson and his three cornered affair." Is there any corresponding caricature of the Bishop? His Excellency dashed up to the troops at full gallop, dispensed with the march past, placed himself at their head, marched them as far as the limits



SIR CHARLES NAPIER REVIEWING THE BRIGADE AT BARRACKPORE.
May, 1849.

(From a Sketch in the possession of "Sydney C. Grier").



Mrs. Warren Hastings—a portrait by Zoffany.



of the ground would allow—near to the Burial-ground—wheeled them into line and marched them back. After this he pointed out to the officers that they did not cover properly, and dismissed the parade.

This was the first of the famous reviews in which Sir Charles Napier insisted on taking an active part instead of the passive one assigned to him, culminating in that at Peshawar, where he and Sir Colin Campbell, with their staffs, charged twice at the head of the cavalry Brigade.

The helmet, hat or cap, is interesting as being Sir Charles's own invention—for military purposes, at any rate. Hodson had imported a leathern helmet for the officers of the Guides, of whose uniform Sir Charles highly approved, and the officers of the Sind Horse wore metal helmets, but this seems to have been the familiar "pith helmet" of later years.

Mr. Foster points out to me that the initials A.H. can be distinguished in the left foreground of the picture. They are much more distinct in the photograph than in the original, curiously enough. Perhaps they may give some clue to the identity of the artist.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.



Seir Mutaqherin.

"THE REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES."

OF the sources which have often been tapped to obtain materials for the history of Bengal, two figure prominently—*Seir Mutaqherin*, or *The Review of Modern Times* by Seid Gholam Hossein Khan of Patna and *Riyazu-s-Salatin* or *The Garden of Kings* by Gholam Hossein Salim Zaidpuri of Maldah (1). Mr. W. R. Gourlay referred to these two valuable books when he read his paper, *The need for a history of Bengal*, on March 6, 1919, before the Royal Society of Arts under the Presidency of Lord Carmichael (2). At the outset it may be said that the *Seir* is of greater value than the *Riyaz*, for the author of the former was not only a spectator but he often took an active part in many of the momentous events which he has described in his book. It is a contemporary record and its value is thereby considerably enhanced.

The *Seir Mutaqherin* concerns itself with events from the time of Aurangzib (it really begins with the death of that Emperor, though in Volume IV it reverts to his career and discusses some of the causes which led to the downfall of the great Moghul Empire) and ends in 1780—a date which may be considered as the time when it was completed. It thus deals with Indian affairs for over seventy-five years; moreover, so far as the major portion of the work is concerned, there is a wealth of details regarding the events in Bengal generally not to be found elsewhere.

The English translation of this invaluable history was made and published at the close of the 18th century in three large volumes by Raymond, (a French Creole who had settled in Murshidabad and assumed the name of Haji Mustapha) under the pseudonym of *Note Manus*, and was dedicated by him to the "Honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire" (3). The whole of this (with the exception of the copies distributed to his few subscribers in India) was despatched to England, but the vessel in which it was consigned was unfortunately lost and the entire edition perished. A second edition was undertaken by Colonel John Briggs under the auspices of the Oriental Translation

(1). For the latter, my article, "The Garden of Kings" in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 206–211, may be consulted. Mr. Abdus Salam's excellent edition of the *Riyaz* is well known. The *Riyaz* has been translated into Bengali. A Bengali edition of the *Seir Mutaqherin* was undertaken under the auspices of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parisat* but has not yet appeared.

(2). *Vide* the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1919, (March, 28). There is a misprint in the article on page 290, where Gholam Hossein Salim is spoken of as the author of both the *Riyaz* and the *Seir*.

(3). Lord Macaulay in his celebrated essay on Warren Hastings said "Hastings had always loved books. Though not a poet in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility and was fond of exercising this talent."

Committee but only the first volume was actually published in 1832 by John Murray. Although, in consideration of the immense value of the work, there was a great demand for it, the prohibitive cost of publishing stood in the way, till in 1902 Messrs. R. Cambray & Co., the energetic publishers of Calcutta published in four well printed volumes a reprint of Raymond's translation. Its importance and utility are well known and as Sir Henry Elliott has very aptly observed in his monumental work, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, "the author treats these important subjects with a freedom and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer and which justly entitled him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians." And he expressly desired that a complete translation of this history should be accessible to the students of Indian history.

The first volume of the work opens with the death of Aurangzib, closely followed by the struggle for the throne which was more or less a repetition of the fratricidal wars waged in the days of Shah Jahan and leading to the accession of Aurangzib. Indeed the sons of Aurangzib's descendants only reaped the harvest sown by him. As regards Aurangzib, we cannot have a better picture of the time than that given by Professor Jadunath Sarkar in his "Aurangzib" —a monument of industry.

In the same volume, Gholam Hossein has given us a short account of the marriage of Farukshiar with a Hindu Princess. He does not, however, go into details for which we have to refer to Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* and Wheeler's *Early Records*. It is, however, curious that the author does not refer to the Surman Embassy neither does he speak of the cure of the Emperor by Dr. Hamilton, an incident of so much importance in the early annals of the English in India. This is one of the serious omissions, along with the practical omission of the details relating to the Black Hole —an event with regard to which we shall have something to say in its proper place.

Gholam Hossein's views of the Sikhs (Vols. 1-8) are as narrow as those of his relating to the Marathas. He speaks of Banda, as "a barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher," though he speaks well of the *Granth*s of the Sikhs as having all the merits and attractions peculiar to truth and sound sense. Here also the Surman Embassy gives us fuller details of the treatment meted out to the Sikh prisoners. Perhaps the fact that the author lived far away from the capital accounts for the spare details which he gives us.

So far as Sikh history is concerned, Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*, an encyclopaedic work, supplies all necessary information relating to the religion of the Sikhs and their *gurus*. In the *Modern Review*, Volume II, 1907, Professor Jadunath Sarkar in an article entitled "Guide to Indian Historical Literature" (written before the publication of Macauliffe's work) gave us a critical bibliography of the historical and descriptive works bearing on the Punjab from the rise of the Sikhs to the British annexation, while Irvine's *Later Mughals* recently edited by Professor Sarkar and published in two volumes containing a very large number of his learned contributions sensibly lightens the work of a student of this period of Indian history. Bengalee students can

also read with profit and pleasure Babu Sarat Kumar Roy's *The Sikh gurus and the Sikh people* with its valuable foreword by Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

The next important theme which our author takes up is the Marathas. The history of this people who played such an important part in India has been hitherto more or less ignored. We must not, of course, ignore the claims of Mr. Justice Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha power* which, though now antiquated, is bound to be considered. Grant Duff's monumental *History* though published almost a hundred years ago is still difficult to replace (4). Fortunately the study of Maratha history has now been taken up in earnest. Of Shivaji, whom our author again discusses in Volume IV of his work, we have now no less than six biographies, of which Professor Jadunath Sarkar's is the best. The volumes published by Mr. C. A. Kincaid and Rao Bahadur, D. B. Parasnis are based on the Marathi *bakhars* which are not always of great historical value: and Keluskar's work in Marathi, which has been translated by Professor Takakhar, is, in the opinion of many, coloured by excessive patriotic zeal. In this connexion the labours of Professor Surendra Nath Sen, of the Calcutta University cannot be too highly commended. His "*Extracts and documents relating to Maratha History*," of which the first volume has appeared, being a translation of *Sabhasad Bakhār* with extracts from Chitnis and Sivadigvijaya, and the *Administrative History of the Marathas* are unfolding a wealth of material, hitherto inaccessible to persons ignorant of Marathi. All lovers of history are deeply grateful to Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee for having introduced this subject in the Calcutta University and thereby encouraged original research in this way. The excellent article by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis on *Maratha Historical Literature* read before the History Section of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1909 can be read with profit and interest. Readers may also refer to the Sanskrit work *Visvagunadarsa* by Vankadhari who belonged to the seventeenth century—a record of times when Aurangzib was ruling and Shivaji was laying the foundations of the Maratha people and kingdom. Mr. Sardesai's *Marathi Rāsat*, written in Marathi is of course a sealed book to those ignorant of the Marathi language but should be made accessible to students.

For the Maratha invasions of Bengal reference should be made to Salimulla's *Tārīkh-i-Bangla* as translated in Gladwin's work "*A Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*"; this has been republished by the *Bangabashi* of Calcutta, to whom we are also indebted for cheap reprints of a number of other important works. No Maratha letters have been hitherto traced and probably none are available. The best account is, however, given in *Maharashtra Purana* (5) by the poet Gangaram, a Bengali manuscript dealing with the defeat and death of Bhaskar Pundit.

Passing over Aliverdi Khan of whom we get a full account in the pages of the *Seir* and for whom the author has nothing but the highest praise, we turn

(4). Reprints have been published by the Oxford University Press (with notes by Mr. S. M. Edwards) and also by Messrs. R. Cambay & Co.

(5). Professor Samaddar expects to publish shortly an English translation of this with full notes.—Ed. B. P. and P.

to the invasion of Nadir Shah. Fraser's *Nadir Shah* and Irvine's articles in the *Later Mughals* give us a good idea of the invader whose attack caused the Moghul Empire to collapse like a house of cards. "*Delhi during the Anarchy as told in contemporary Records (1749—1788)*" and the series of Lectures delivered by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar as Reader at the Patna University have to be studied for this period of history. And the unique copy of a manuscript referred to by Professor Sarkar gives us a full and graphic account of Delhi covering the period, 1739 to 1799, i.e., from Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi to the eve of the British entry into the Imperial city under Lord Lake. "There are many gaps in the work as it now stands," observes Professor Sarkar, "but it is of unique value and constitutes a record of supreme importance to the critical historian of this period. Here we have an absolutely contemporary chronicle of the events and rumours of Delhi, written down immediately afterwards by an inhabitant of the city without any embellishment, garbling or artificial arrangement of a later day."

In volume II, we come to a very important period in the history of Bengal—the constant changes in the occupants of the throne of Bengal. Aliverdi's death brings us to the accession of Sirajuddaula, and the latter's attack on Calcutta, followed by his dethronement and the succession of Mir Jafar who in turn is ousted by Mir Kasim, his son-in-law. All these events are graphically described in this volume, which, therefore, from the point of view of the history of Bengal, is the most important. The two books by Mr. S. C. Hill (6) should be studied with care in connection with this period of history and, although the literature of this period is growing, a closer examination of details would appear to be required. The Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society, *Bengal Past and Present* contains a large number of interesting articles relating to this time which may be read with interest and profit, while the re-publication in its pages of "*The Narrative of the Campaign in Bengal, 1760*" (7) from the *Asiatic Annual Register of 1880* has made this work accessible to students. Regarding the Black Hole Massacre full details might have been expected from a writer of Gholam Hossein's position, specially as he does not speak at all well of Surajuddaula. Thanks to Mr. Little, whose premature death we all must regret, the question was reopened and the series of learned articles, in *Bengal Past and Present* dealing with both sides of the question (8) have, let us hope, solved the question once for all, proving that after all, it was no myth.

For Nuncomar, whom our author has described as a shrewd, powerful man, deeply versed in business, informed of every secret, "a man of wicked disposition and an infamous character" reference may also be made to *Bengal Past and Present* (9) where the copy of the Jewel Bond can be seen, while Ram Narain about whom not much was known, can now be studied through the

(6). *Three Frenchmen in Bengal and Bengal in 1756—1757*.

(7). *Bengal Past and Present*, Vols. VII and VIII.

(8). Vols. XI, XII, XIV, & XV. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton's book "Calcutta: Old and New" contains much useful and interesting information not to be had elsewhere

(9). Vol. III, p. 501.

translation of Maharaja Kalyan Singh's *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* by Khan Bahadur Syed Sarfaraz Hossein Khan in the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (10). "

Our author has dealt at length with the unfortunate Mir Kasim and on this subject a reference should be made to the *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, edited by Archdeacon Firminger.

This volume also contains a full and graphic account of the career of the ill-fated Shah Alam (alias *Aaly-Goher*), son of Alamgir the second. His activities and his fight with the English and defeat and the events which follow take us to the third volume, which commences with the granting of the Dewani (11), (the first great step by the Company towards territorial dominion) by Shah Alam, nominal suzerain of Mir Jafar—the theoretical overlord of the Company. In this connection, the *Fifth Report on East Indian Affairs* edited by Archdeacon Firminger and published by Messrs. R. Cambray & Co. is indispensable.

The third volume also speaks of the relation of Hastings with the members of his Council, a subject which is also discussed in the last volume. "As the three newcomers were linked and knit together, they formed a compact body, which being invested with both the King's and the Company's authority, carried a mighty weight, specially when they set up an enquiry into the conduct and principles of the Governor *Hushtion*, a man against whom they seemed to have formed a confederacy." This volume (page 76) also contains an interesting reference to a learned Hindustani travelling to Europe, "Mir-Mohammed Hossein Fazyl, a man of great subtility of mind and great extent of knowledge." "His intention was to acquire knowledge, to see the world, and to inquire into those discoveries which the learned of those parts had made in the science of astronomy, in the choice of simple medicines, and the art of compound ones, in the qualities of plants, and the functions of heavenly bodies. As usual with all pioneers after his return, he found no favor."

The same volume also contains in section XIV, our author's valuable reflections on the "Twelve causes assigned for the diminution of revenue and population all over Bengal." The remarks are pertinent ones and some of them apply to a certain extent even now-a-days. And we may echo the feeling of the author and say, "as the people of this country have all of them become subjects to the English, and they have no other protector, and no other supporter or comforter besides, but God Almighty; as they have no other masters, from whom they should expect mercy and forgiveness; it is incumbent upon these new rulers of theirs, that in whatever concerns distributive justice and the welfare of the people of this land, they studiously emulate the scrupulous equity and the innate impartiality of our ancient Emperors."

(11). An annotated edition of this translation by the Khan Bahadur and Professor Samad'dar is expected to be published very shortly.—Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.

(12). Our author's observations on this are well worth perusal.)

This volume concludes with the fall of the Maratha power at the momentous third battle of Panipat—a national defeat of which the best description was given in the banker's letter: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up."

We pass on to the fourth or last volume. Here after some reference to the Sikhs and the Marathas including Sivaji, the author discusses at some length the Rohillas. He next refers to the American War of Independence and speaks of the help rendered by the French, showing that he was a well informed person and then quits the American war to launch into the latter part of the Emperor Aurangzib's history. He also discusses some of the causes which led to the downfall of the Mughal Empire (Vol. IV, p. 158) and his remarks are not only significant but just, for example, regarding the *Jizia* or capitation tax (12), which was reimposed by Alamgir in his twenty-second year. His observations on Aurangzib though very bitter are worth perusal.

One hundred and thirty years ago, the translator, Raymond (13), estimated his expenses of publication at Rs. 8,700 and said, "I never have had in view either personal credit or pecuniary benefit. Had I had the last, I should not have commenced printing the work in December, 1788, with only eight subscribers nor could I to-day persist in forcing all obstacles, with no more than fifty-two; out of which number some will not pay, and some are gone to Europe; in all twelve persons. Now even the fifty-two subscribers, or the two hundred mohurs, would not repay so much as one-third of the expense of printing; for my personal labour is out of the question." The same may be said of the present publishers to whom the thanks of all students are due for having volunteered to bring out a new edition of this most important work relating to the history of our motherland at a great cost and with no hope of profit.

J. N. SAMADDAR.

[NOTE.—The edition of the *Seir* published by Messrs. Cambray over 20 years ago is now exhausted and although the original price was only twenty rupees, copies cannot now be obtained for less than one hundred rupees. The new edition shortly to appear has been enriched with copious notes by Professor Samaddar of Patna, as editor. The author Syed Gholam Hossein Khan, who had passed his childhood at Delhi, was settled at Patna when he wrote his work, while Raymond's edition was printed on Patna paper. It is therefore fitting that this new edition should be associated with the name of a Patna professor.—Editor: *Bengal Past and Present*.]

(12). It was levied for 34 years till it was abolished by Farruk-Diyar. It was finally abolished in Muhammad Sha's reign. (Vide Irvine: *Later Mughals*, II, 103). The *Jizia* yielded 4 crores of rupees.

(13). Vide his letter to William Armstrong, dated Calcutta, the 15th of May, 1790.

Old Judicial Records of the Calcutta High Court.*

THE advanced countries of Europe have been the pioneers, as in many other arts, in the organization of public records and the appraisement of their historical value. Of the numerous benefits which India has derived by her contact with the West the rescue of documents relating to her past history from oblivion has been one of the greatest. But the work hitherto done in India in this direction seems to have been partial and out of proportion to the bulk of records existing in all the departments of Government. Most of the activities of the Imperial and Provincial Governments in the management of state records, it would appear, have been confined to administrative archives ; while those of

the courts of justice have been almost wholly left out of consideration. This has perhaps been due to the fact that judicial records are not under the immediate jurisdiction of the Executive authorities, who have great facilities for taking an initiative and practically the exclusive power to carry it out. Before the re-organization of their Secretariat Record Room the Government of Bengal wrote to the Government of India in regard to the records of the Calcutta High Court : —“ The Governor however has no information with regard to them. His Honour thinks that the Hon'ble High Court might properly be consulted.” The High Court on the other hand had until quite recently no whole-time or permanent officer to look after the large mass of records deposited in its office rooms, who had an exact idea as to the nature and scope of the Court's old records, and could understand their historical value, or carry on a sustained effort to re-organise them on modern scientific lines. Mr. Foster's valuable Memorandum on the Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Records of England and Wales drew—perhaps for the first time—the serious attention of the Government of India to the immediate need of putting the old records of the various High Courts in India into order; and in 1919 a Record Department was created and a permanent Keeper of Records was appointed in the Calcutta High Court to reorganize the records on the Appellate Side. Subsequently, the Court further realising the necessity of making immediate provision for the better preservation and proper management of the entire judicial records of value under its jurisdiction, formulated a scheme to establish a Central Judicial Record Office in Calcutta, to which the records of both the Appellate and Original Sides of the Court as well as the pre-Mutiny records now in the custody of the District Judges would be transferred. This scheme is pending before the Government of India.

It may not perhaps be too much to say that the judicial records of a country throw a much greater light on the history of its people than its executive or secretariat records. They are in some respects more elucidative and authentic, embodying the final conclusions

*A Paper read at the Fifth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in Calcutta in January 1923. Reprinted by permission.

of most carefully sifted arguments and evidences, embracing the whole sphere of human activities with the utmost possible accuracy, and representing all shades of human motive and thought. They present a vivid idea as to how a particular people have lived from generation to generation under different systems of education and different conceptions of good and evil, and indicate the great force of circumstances in shaping the morals of a community. Unlike the chronicles of the Executive, they do not harbour any one-sided statements - statements which were never subjected to the scrutiny of the public, and which often mislead the historian to not a little extent. The records relating to the Courts of Law in this country represent three great and ancient civilizations, most dissimilar to each other and each an integral whole in itself; and despite the changes effected by the *obiter dicta* of British tribunals it may be said that at least the civil laws, as promulgated by the Quran and the Vedas, have maintained both their letter and spirit almost intact to the present day. All research work in Indian history must therefore remain incomplete, so long as these records are not studied properly.

The Record Rooms of the Calcutta High Court contain documents dating from the very earliest times of British rule in India and covering about a century and a half of its most eventful period. They may roughly be classified under two principal groups as follows :—

- I. Those relating to the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court and the Courts that preceded it, *viz.*, the Mayor's Court, the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the Supreme Court.
- II. Those relating to the Appellate Jurisdiction of the High Court and the Courts that preceded it, *viz.*, the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalats.

This paper purports to deal only with the records of the older Courts, all of which practically existed before the Indian Mutiny, the present High Court coming into existence only five years after that great event. It is not intended to enter into descriptive details of the records, beyond giving an idea as to their nature and present condition and making a few suggestions for taking immediate steps for their better preservation and arrangement.

The Mayor's Court and the Court of Quarter Sessions were constituted as early as 1727 by a Royal Charter. They corresponded practically to the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction respectively of the present High Court on its Original Side. They were created with a view to extending to the British subjects of His Majesty the benefits of the English laws. All civil cases that came up before the civil Court were tried according to equity, good conscience and the Common Law prevailing in Great Britain at the time, and the bulk of these cases consisted of money suits against European residents and merchants. The Court consisted of the Mayor in the chair and Aldermen present, and held its sittings at the Town Hall ordinarily on Tuesdays and Fridays. The Court of Quarter Sessions was presided over by the Governor and five senior members of the Council, who

were appointed Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the trial of all offences with the exception of high treason. Both these Courts were Courts of Record. The Sheriff was the officer through whom the commands of the Courts were executed. He produced the "person and goods and chattels," issued warrants (*capias of arrest*), mandatory processes, bails etc.

The Mayor's Court was abolished and replaced by the Supreme Court in 1774 under the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Court of Quarter Sessions was made subject to it. It was authorised to perform the functions of a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and was presided over by a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges, who were also made Justices of the Peace and Coroners in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa with authority similar to those exercised by the Justices of the King's Bench in England. The capacity of the Court was divided into various sides, *viz.*, the Ecclesiastical, Admiralty, Ordinary Civil and Crown Sides. The Judges, who derived their functions and powers directly from a Royal Charter, were animated by an ardent desire for establishing an administration in this country based on the English principles of equity and justice, which often seriously clashed with the commercial and political interests of the East India Company; while the Executive headed by the Governor-General and his Council did not like that any part of the judicial administration of the country, over which they had hitherto exercised complete control, should pass out of their hands. The result was that a spirit of rivalry, dangerous to peace and good Government was created between the Supreme Court on the one hand and the Sadar Adalats, over which the Governor-General and his Council presided, on the other. This naturally led to constant friction between the two Courts; and men imprisoned by the one were often ordered to be released by the other, and *vice versâ*. Letters of the Governor-General and Council were criticised by the Chief Justice as wanting in form, and ignored on legal grounds. Native grandees who were partisans of the Company often took advantage of these circumstances. Roy Radha Charan, the representative of Mobarak-ud-Dowla, the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad, refused to appear before the Supreme Court, when summoned in a case, and claimed through the Governor-General the privilege of the "laws of nations." The Governor-General of course supported him, but only to draw strong indictments from the Chief Justice. This situation however improved by later changes.

The records of the English Courts consist mainly of the following papers:—

1. Bills of complaint. These were grounds on which a suit was brought for decision before the Courts. They were filed by the attorneys of the plaintiffs.
2. Answers of the opposite parties. These were filed by the attorneys of the defendants.
3. Orders of the Mayor's Court to the Sheriff and Commission issued by it.

4. Exhibits, relating to the bills of complaints in the form of deeds, registers, account books, etc., of firms and ships.
5. Schedules of questions put to the parties by the attorneys on the opposite sides.
6. Affidavits, petitions, etc.
7. Reports of the Sheriff and other officers of the Courts.
8. Minor orders.
9. Final orders of the Mayor's Court, decreeing or dismissing a suit or permitting a case to be withdrawn. (No separate judgments or decrees are traceable relating to this Court beyond the notes "decreed" or "dismissed," written on docket covers).
10. Depositions of witnesses.
11. Judgments and decrees (of the Supreme Court).
12. Verdicts of the Jury.
13. Probates and letters of administration granted by the Judges.
14. Copies of correspondence with Governors-General.
15. Account books and other registers.
16. Miscellaneous letters received from the public.
17. Wills and testaments.

The Sadar Diwani Adalat was established in Calcutta by Warren Hastings in 1773. It was reconstituted and made a Court of Old British Indian Courts. Record by an Act of Parliament in 1781. The Adalat was a Court of appeal in all civil cases exceeding five hundred rupees, which arose among Indians who resided outside the Presidency town; and it was composed of the Governor-General and his Council, assisted by certain Indian officials. It also revised the proceedings of the minor Adalats, which were under the control of the Provincial Councils; and its jurisdiction extended from Bengal to the boundaries of Benares and the Ceded Provinces, namely, over the whole of the Company's dominions which lay outside the territorial limits of the other two Presidencies. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat, the chief Court of appeal in criminal cases, was transferred to Calcutta from Murshidabad, where it used to hold its sittings under the governance of the Naib Nazim, in 1770, and was placed under the exclusive control of the Governor-General in Council. From 1801 onwards, however, both the Sadar Courts began to exercise their functions distinct from the legislative and executive authority of the state; and the Courts were composed of a Chief Judge and puisne Judges instead of the Governor-General and the members of Council as hitherto. The laws administered by the Nizamat Adalat continued to be on the Mughal system for a long time. The possession and ownership of slaves, the cutting off of the hand for theft, the payment of "diyat" (blood money) for murder were sanctioned by the laws, and the punishments were awarded according to the *fatwas* pronounced by the Muftis. Rebels were hanged and their dead bodies exposed on a gibbet in public thoroughfares, as a warning to criminals.

The records of these Courts consist mainly of the following papers :—

1. Petitions of appeal filed by the appellant's Vakils. These were the equivalents of the modern memorandum of appeal.

2. Answers and cross-objections of the parties.
3. Lists of witnesses.
4. Letters from District Judges, forwarding exhibits, pleadings and other proceedings of the subordinate Adalats, including the judgments and decrees in Persian with English translations.
5. Questions and answers (*fatwas*) of the Qaziul-Quzzat, Muftis and Pundits, who were law officers of the Adalats.
6. Reports of the Reporters.
7. Judgments of the Adalats passed in the form of resolutions.
8. Miscellaneous registers, correspondence and circular orders.
9. 'Constructions' These were the embodied opinions of the Judges of the Adalats on difficult points of law referred to them by the District officers, who did not find any guidance from the country, in regard to particular cases pending before them. These opinions were circulated throughout the jurisdiction of the Adalat and treated as laws. They were more or less equivalent to the present day rulings of the High Courts and contributed to a great extent to the development of the Code of Civil Procedure. The more important 'contributions' were printed.

A number of valuable documents have been lent to the Secretary of the Commission at his request from the Record Rooms of the High Court for the present occasion. They include papers relating to some important political trials and the judicial administration of the country during the latter part of the eighteenth century, besides copies of various letters from the Mayor's Court to Lord Clive, proceedings of the first Supreme Court, wills of General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Henry Vansittart, and a *farman* of Sultan Abdul Majid of Turkey conferring the Order of Majidi on a British officer.

A short account of one of the trials, which relates to a well-known Urdu poet, may perhaps be given here, as likely to be read with interest. Mirza Jan, whose poetic *nom de plume* was "Tapish," was a Mughal by descent from Bokhara and a courtier of Saheb-i-Alam Mirza Jawan Bakht. He was charged with conspiring to "subvert and extirpate from the country of Bengal" the Government of the East India Company and with aiding and abetting Nawab Shams-ud-Dowla, a grandson of Mobarak-ud-Dowla, the Nawab Nazim, in trying to "turn aside as many people as possible from the attachment of the English Company." He was alleged to have caused letters to be written to Zaman Shah, the King of Afghanistan, inviting him to attack Bengal and free it from the yoke of the English, and to Sher Muhammad Khan Bahadur and Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Mustaufi-ul Mulk, the Vazir and financial officer respectively of the Afghan King, invoking their aid and co-operation in presenting both the messenger and the petition to the King's favourable consideration. Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan Ansari of Lucknow was commissioned to hear this embassy. The poet was also alleged to have deputed one Syed Ashraf Ali Khan of Patna to secure the assistance of the Zamindars in creating a rebellion against the Company. The Khan however was cunning enough to realise the futility of the adventure.

But he was anxious to draw out some money from the Nawab Shams-ud-Dowla to whom he presented a forged *mukhtarnama*, purporting to have come from the leading Rajas and Zamindars of Bihar, conveying their adherence and promise of support to the treasonable scheme. The contemplated plot was discovered before it could materialise. Mirza Jan was found guilty by the Sadar Nizamat Court, held on 16 December 1800, who, after considering the *fatwa* of the law officers, ordered as follows :—

' The Court having duly considered the Proceedings held before the Calcutta Special Court on the Trial of Mirza Jaun Tupkish for Treason against the state and having before them the Futwa of their Law officers on this Trial, pass the following Sentence.—

' The Prisoner Mirza Jaun Tupkish being convicted of the crime laid to his charge, and declared liable to imprisonment until he shall have shewn sincere signs of Repentence, the Court accordingly sentence the said Mirza Jaun Tupkish to be imprisoned until the Governor-General in Council shall be satisfied of the Sincerity of his Repentence.—Previous, however to taking any Measures for carrying this Sentence into Execution, the Court Resolve that the whole of the Proceedings in the Trial be submitted to the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council for his orders, as required in Sect. 5th Regulation 4th of 1799.'

These old records of the High Court are at present without any arrangement and have no indexes. The records of the old Condition of old records. English Courts have been lying in a very neglected condition, although a start has been made in arranging and cataloguing the papers of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalats. The record rooms on the Original Side of the Court are dark and not sufficiently ventilated; and most of the papers have been reduced to a condition which would not warrant a safe handling. Unless they are immediately repaired and flattened, it will be impossible to arrest the process of decay which is going on. A large number of these records, it may be stated, apart from possessing great historical value, determine rights and titles to important existing estates, and their custody involves extraordinary responsibilities. The importance of preserving, arranging and indexing such documents cannot therefore be overestimated. As has already been mentioned, a scheme for the amalgamation of the Court's entire records with the pre-Mutiny records now deposited in the District Record Rooms and their housing in a common building attached to the High Court is pending before the Government of India. But in view of the present financial stringency, it is doubtful whether this scheme will materialise in the near future. It is therefore necessary that immediate arrangements should be made at least to renovate and arrange the old records stored on the Original Side of the Court, pending the realisation of the larger scheme, which can be done at a very little cost. Otherwise the records may be lost beyond recovery.

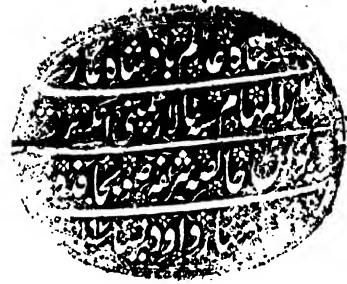
BADRUD-DIN AHMAD,

*Keeper of the Records,
High Court, Appellate Side.*

The Editor's Note Book.

WHAT is the exact significance of the inscription upon the seal which we reproduce upon the opposite page by courteous permission of the John Company and *Statesman*? At the last meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, which was held in Calcutta in January last, Professor J. N. Samaddar, of Patna University, drew the attention of the members to his discovery of what he termed a joint seal of the East India Company and the Emperor Shah Alam, by whom the Dewani was granted to Clive in 1765. A number of such seals had, he said, been found in the house of Baboo Radhaprasad Sinha of Rohtas, whose ancestor, Rajah Shah Mal, played a conspicuous part in the delivery of the fort to the English during the brief and troubled period of Meer Kasim's occupancy of the gadi of Bengal (1760 to 1763). The seal, according to Professor Samaddar, bears the inscription: "Shah Alam Badsha Ghazi Madar-ul Meerhum Sepah Salar Company Angrezi Fidevi Dewan Khalsa Sharifa subajat Bengala, Bihar, Orissa, 1191" (Hijri): and the translation, according to the same authority, is as follows: "Emperor Shah Alam, the Ghazi. The English Company, the Principal Manager, the Commander-in-chief, the devoted servant the pure and noble Dewan of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, 1191."

THE version so given has not met with the approval of Baboo Bahadur Singh Singhi, a member of the Society, who has pointed out that the date is 1197, and not 1191, and who holds that the inscription should be read from bottom upwards, rearranging the words according to sense: thus: "Madar-ul Maham Sipah Salar Kampani Angrezi Fidwi Dewan Khalsah Sharifah Subajat Bengala O Bihar O Orissa Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi, 1197." The translation would then be: "(The) Principal Manager, Commander-in-chief, (the) English Company, devoted servant (and) Dewan (of) noble Khas Provinces (of) Bengal and Behar and Orissa (of) Emperor Shah Alam (11) Badshah Ghazi, 1197 (Hijri)." It is the contention of the Baboo Sahib that the seal is the Company's own seal as Dewan. The presence of the Emperor's name is due to the fact that it was customary to place the name of the reigning sovereign at the top of all seals affixed to documents by state dignitaries and high officials. Documents of extreme importance were alone sealed with the Imperial Seal, and documents of lesser importance bore the seals of departmental heads who described themselves as the most humble and devoted servants of the supreme head. Baboo Bahadur Singh Singhi adds that he is the possessor of a number of similar seals, and also of documents bearing seals in which the name of Shah Alam, the Second and other Emperors, including Shah Jahan, is used.



از راه و جهات و کل حبوبات الالب و معروضات

معروضات و انوارات و غیره بر سر کف و معروضات

معروضات و انوارات و غیره بر سر کف و معروضات

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معروضات و انوارات و غیره بر سر کف و معروضات

MR. K. BOSE, the Superintendent of the Record Department of the Government of India, has supplied a third translation. He is also of the opinion that the seal is not a joint seal of the Company and of Shah Alam, but is of the Company alone and merely acknowledges by way of courtesy the sovereignty of the Mogul Emperor. The term "Khalsa Sharifa" denotes "royal exchequer" (*vide* Wilson's Glossary of judicial and revenue terms occurring in official documents.) His rendering of the inscription is as follows: "Diwan-i-Khalsa Sharifa Subajat Bangala O Bihar O Orissa Madar-ul Maham Sipah Salar Kampani-i-Angrezi Fidwi-i-Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi, 1197." Translated literally, this becomes in English: "Diwan of the Royal Exchequer (of) the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the principal manager, Commander-in-chief, the English company (the) devoted servant of Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi, 1197." Shah Alam, the Second, the Emperor concerned, held his titular office from 1759 to 1806. He was blinded in 1788 by a Rohilla freebooter, and, after spending years in tutelage to the Mahrattas was restored to his phantom throne by Lake in 1803. The Hijri year 1197, which appears on the seal, corresponds with the period between December 7, 1782, and October 28, 1783.

SIR BASIL BLACKETT, the new Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was born in Calcutta in 1882, and baptised at the Old Mission Church, where his father, the Rev. William Russell Blackett, was a frequent preacher. When Sir Basil paid his first official visit to Calcutta in April of this year, he examined the entry concerning himself in the register of baptisms as well as the entry relating to his parents' marriage in the Church. The Old Mission Church is second only to the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth as the oldest place of Christian worship in Calcutta: and owes its existence to John Zechariah Kiernander, who paid out of his own pocket no less than Rs. 65,000 of the Rs. 68,000 needed to complete it. It was consecrated on December 23, 1770, and named Beth Tephillah or the House of Prayer. In the vernacular it is known as the Lal Gırja, or Red Church, from the tint of the bricks of which it was originally composed. In former days, building was restricted under orders of the Company on the plot of land on the south side of Tank Square, (as related in the following note) and hence the Church figures prominently in the drawings of the Square by Daniell and Baillie.

CALCUTTA has lost another historic building. The house on the south side of Dalhousie Square which Messrs. Newman & Co., the booksellers, have occupied for close upon fifty years, is condemned to "reconstruction"; and the firm have sought new quarters in the arcade of the Great Eastern Hotel in Old Court House Street. The history of the building, which is one of the oldest in "Lal Dighi" and of the site upon which it stands is given in detail in *Calcutta Old and New* (p. 332). By a pottah, dated September 5,

1780 the land which is described as "one bigah and sixteen cottahs of the Honourable Company's 'camar' or untenanted land situated in Dhee Calcutta," was granted to Charles Weston, the benefactor of the poor of Calcutta and the friend of Holwell in his old age, with a condition that "no house, wall, or other erection of any kind whatsoever shall be built upon the ground excepting a palisade, fence, or railing" and "on failing of this condition, the ground shall revert to the Company." In 1795 Weston sold the land for Rs. 6,000, with the prohibition attaching thereto: and in 1799 it passed to the Barrettos. It remained waste for the next nine years: and contemporary pictures of the south side of Tank Square afford an uninterrupted view across it of the Old Mission Church. The restriction was finally removed on May 8, 1806, by virtue of a "letter bearing date, Council Chamber, the same day," under the signature of "Thomas Brown, Secretary to the Government of Fort William in Bengal in the Public Department." A house was thereupon built, and was in the occupation of the firm of Alport & Co. in 1830. It then passed into the possession of the Bengal Club, which must have removed to Esplanade East by 1833, for it is there shown in the "Panoramic view of Calcutta" by William Wood, Junior, which was published in that year. In 1836 the house was sold for Rs. 82,000 to one James William Macleod by the assignees of the insolvent firm of Cruttenden MacKillop & Co.: but we find it retaining its designation of "The Club House" in a letter of August, 1841, in which a proposal of purchase is made by Messrs. Jenkins Law & Co. to Thomas de Souza & Co. In 1882 the premises were purchased by the late Sir Walter de Souza for Rs. 1,80,000 and sold by him a few years later for Rs. 3,50,000, a figure nearly sixty times as great as that which Charles Weston was glad to name in 1795. It would be interesting to know the price at which it now stands valued. Messrs. Newman's occupancy dated from 1882. In 1870 (as we learned in our last volume) the tenants of that day elected to be known as "Bodelio's Emporium of Fashion."

SOME interesting reminiscences of "Calcutta, in the Eighties" were published in the *Statesman* of May 1. The name of the writer is not given, but we fancy that we are not far wrong in ascribing the authorship to Mr. H. Hobbs. Those were days when servants brought down tiffin for office-wallahs on hot-water plates, arranged in tiers, with a layer of lighted charcoal underneath: and as they returned the khidmatgars were met outside what used to be Scott Thomson's Corner, at the junction of Old Court House Street and Esplanade East, by a crowd of European and Eurasian loafers who would purchase the remnants of the meal for a few annas and wash them down with a drink from the Panioty fountain. Mr. Hobbs is right in declaring that the transformation into the Curzon Gardens of the loafer's paradise at this derelict portion of the Maidan was one of the most needed and welcome improvements of a later time. Moore & Co.'s "Belatee Bungalow" stood on the site now occupied by Imperial Buildings. This land was sold about the year 1896 for five lakhs

of rupees : and " when Walter Locke & Co.'s premises were offered to Moore & Co. on a long lease at a quarter of its present rental, the proprietors closed down rather than submit to what they considered an extortionate rate." Whiteaway Laidlaw and Co.'s place of business, afterwards taken by Hall and Anderson, and then by the Gramophone Company and the Young Men's Christian Association, was in Esplanade East. The building is now the home of an Indian jeweller. Sailing ships had not ceased to be a familiar feature of the river scene; and ships' captains often stayed idling in Calcutta for eighteen months waiting for their wind-jammers to be chartered. Society was not yet tired of flocking to the Eden Gardens on Saturday evenings to listen to the strains of the Town Band which was formed in 1884.

THE Terai hat, with a gold embroidered puggree, was the favourite form of head covering. Bengalee gentlemen habitually wore chapkan and chuddar : and the British soldier's hot weather uniform was of white drill. Frock coats, stiff starched shirts and collars, high silk hats, and the tightest of trousers were essential on ceremonial occasions. Dandyism in dress was the passion of the hour. A notable "Ditcher" of the period was the P. and O. pilot Lindquist who used to board and leave the steamers dressed in the height of fashion. Says the chronicler from whose store we are borrowing :—

The night the P. and O. boats came in, Lindquist could always be seen parading the Eden Gardens, wearing a tall hat, frock coat, with an orchid in the button-hole, striped trousers, kid gloves of the latest shade, and immaculate boots. He was considered to be the smartest pilot, as able as he was dapper.

The Anglo-Indian buck died hard. The present writer can well remember, when he first visited Patna in the early nineties, seeing the Collector, a well-known civilian of the day, taking his evening constitutional on the Bankipore maidan in a costume which would have been appropriate to Cup Day at Ascot.

MAGNIFICENCE of a more Oriental type was to be witnessed in the thirties. Miss Emma Roberts in her *Sketches and Characteristics of Hindustan* (Vol. I, p. 113 : 1835) gives the following account of a Burra Sahib whose reflected glory shone upon the good people, military and civil, stationed at Berhampore :

A gentleman, who succeeded to the appointment of resident at the neighbouring court (of the Nawab Nazim at Moorshedabad) . . . from long domestication with native princes in distant states, had adopted the pomp and circumstance of oriental splendour, so necessary to create and retain the respect due to the governors of the country. The appointments of his establishment were magnificent : he kept a train of elephants, and when he appeared in state was surrounded by a crowd of retainers, chobdars, and chuprassees, carrying silver maces

and sheathed swords before him, while mounted suwars brought up the rear.

The sequel, as related by Miss Roberts, should not be omitted. "A demeanour correspondent to all this outward grandeur" was naturally expected by the little world of Berhampore: but, to the surprise of every body, the new Resident got into a buggy, "that favourite conveyance of rich and poor": and "left his name" at every door without any distinction. In this respect he set an admirable example to a newly-arrived regiment, "which had held out staunchly against paying the first visit," and "whose officers could not be persuaded that pride was not the cause of their being unnoticed by civilians of rank."

MORE reminiscences;—and this time from the pen of an old sailor, who contributes them to the *Englishman* of May 7. The last King of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah, established himself (as we all know) on his deposition in 1857, in the house and grounds formerly occupied at Garden Reach by Sir Lawrence Peel, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1848 to 1855. This was the first great alteration in that oldest and best known suburb of Calcutta which was once the subject of admiring comment from every visitor to the "City of Palaces," as they gazed upon its line of spacious bungalows on the water's edge standing in large compounds. To-day the tawdry pile of buildings erected by the King of Oudh for himself and his swarm of followers, stands derelict in the midst of docks and wharves. The writer in the *Englishman* writes of it as it was in the seventies, when the menagerie was one of the sights of Calcutta:—

The King of Oudh's
Palace at Garden Reach.

On one New Year's Day, hearing the grounds round the King of Oudh's palace were open to visitors, four or five of us went there. I remember the extraordinary uniforms of the Palace Sepoys, and their tall hats, exactly as seen in old prints of the Hon'ble Company's soldiers, cross-belted, and with bayonets, I should say, at least two feet in length at their sides. There were a few tigers in cages, a snake pit, and an arena, where we were told that fights were held between tiger and tiger and tiger and buffalo.

In this Wajid Ali Shah was keeping up the traditions of his ancestors. There are vivid accounts of animal fights at Lucknow in the days of Nasir-ud-din Haider (1827-1837) to be read in William Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King*. As for the sepoy, an inspection of the monument in St. John's Church to Lieut. Peter Lawtie, of the Bengal Engineers, (who died in Nepal in 1815), will show what their dress in the days of John Company was. It appears to consist of an uniform coatee and bandolier, a necklace, slippers, and a pair of short, tight *jungias*, or drawers, which leave the legs and thighs entirely exposed.

DISRAELI once called the hansom cab "the Gondola of London": but the ticca gharry of the seventies deserved no such compliment. It is thus described by the writer in the *Englishman*:—

The old Ticca Gharry. These old gharries were real boxes on wheels, with big windows behind and at the sides, fitted with canvass screens, and no panes of glass or even jhilmils.

A palanquin may not stand for the acme of comfort—and it has to be endured for a long journey in the mofussil in order to appreciate it at its best or worst—but it must have seemed luxurious after a taste of these old ticca gharries.

SINCE the year 1911 the term "Anglo-Indian" has, by ukase of the Government of India, been applied to the domiciled community of mixed parentage. But, for all that, the original signification of the word has not been lost. The first Anglo-Indians, as the *Statesman* pointed out in a long and interesting article on May 19, were of the type of Sir David Ochterlony, who scandalized Bishop Heber by appearing in a choga and turban sitting like a Rajah on a divan, while attendants kept him cool with fans of peacock's feathers. Those were days in which many Englishmen adopted Indian habits and customs. Old Army orders may be read which prohibit British Officers from taking part in the *Holi* festival and direct them to parade in European, and not in Indian dress. Civil Servants had equally to be restrained. Frederick John Shore, the son of Lord Teignmouth, who came out to Bengal as a writer in 1818 and who died in Calcutta on May 29, 1837, took to wearing Indian dress, and scandalized headquarters thereby to such a degree that a Government order was issued forbidding the practice on the part of the Company's European servants. Presently, the Serampore missionaries, Marshman, Ward, and Carey, set their faces against the wholesale Indianization which prevailed: and raised a strong protest, in particular, against the Hindoo style of the tomb erected in South Park Street cemetery over Major-General Charles Stuart, who died in 1828 at the age of 70 at his house in Wood Street, and claimed to rest surrounded by the emblems of the religion which he openly professed. The missionaries, aided by Macaulay's onslaught on Eastern education, checked the current of Orientalism: and the name "Anglo-Indian" was next conferred upon the returned "nabob" whom Thackeray has immortalized in Jos Sedley and Mr. Birnie and Colonel Newcome. An insubordinate liver, a choleric temper and a yellow complexion became the Anglo-Indian's distinguishing characteristics. His state of health was not to be wondered at for our grand-fathers and great grand-fathers spent twenty-five years on end in India before taking the furlough which was preparatory to retirement: and hill-stations were unknown. In these times of quick passages from India, the Anglo-Indian in England connotes a more ordinary individual, namely, the man or woman whose destiny has sent

them to India in one capacity or another: and whatever meaning the word may bear in India, it will be many years before it loses the application it has acquired in England.

"COROMANDEL PLACE" is quite a good name for one of the new Calcutta "Coromandel Place." streets: and we recommend it to the Chairman of the Improvement Trust. There was once, it seems, a "Coromandel Place" off Gower Street in London, and it is probable that the name was given at the instance of William Daniell, whose residence from 1825 to 1837 was close by at 14, Russell Street, Fitzroy Square, and whose uncle Thomas lived from 1809 to 1819, even closer by, at 12, Charlottæ Row, New Road (the modern Marylebone Road). The Imperial Library possesses a panorama of Madras in which the name occurs, and of which the full title is as follows:—

MADRAS, painted by Wm. Daniell, R.A., and E. T. Parris; from drawings made by Mr. Augs. Earle in the year 1829, now exhibiting in Coromandel Place, New Road, nearly opposite the end of Gower Street. London (1830 ?) 8°.

The faithful (if imaginative) Mr. Caunter, in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 6, note) writes in the highest terms of this panorama:—

"So correct a representation has been given of Madras in the panorama painted by Mr. Daniell and Mr. Paris, that no verbal description can approach the vivid and extraordinary truth with which it realises the whole scene to the beholder's eye."

William Daniell subsequently painted another panorama of Lucknow with a "representation of the method of training elephants."

NEWS reaches us, as we go to Press, of the publication of the long-expected third volume of "The Memoirs of William Hickey"

The New Volume of "The (1782 to 1790). A full review will appear in the next Memoirs of William Hickey." number of *Bengal Past and Present*. It must suffice to say here that the book contains many additional details of considerable interest regarding "Bob Pott" and his fair innamorata Emily Warren, who form the subject of our article on a previous page entitled "Sir Joshua's Model." A reproduction of Reynolds' "Thais" makes an admirable frontispiece to the volume: and an excellent portrait of "Bob Pott" himself by Romney is also given. Members of the Society are warmly recommended to procure a copy of the book (15s. net). In numerous respects it will be found to provide even better reading than the two preceding volumes. The side-lights on eighteenth century Calcutta are extraordinarily vivid.

